A HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN ITALY

CHARLES A. CUMMINGS

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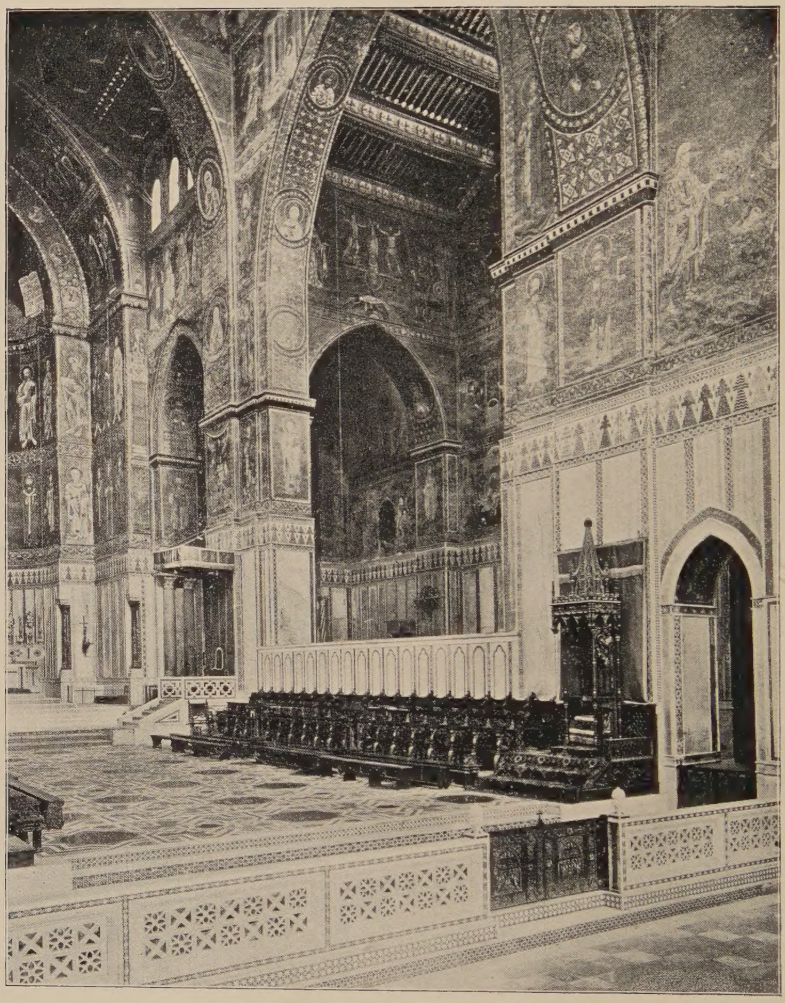

Monreale. View across Transept.

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ARCHITECTURE IN ITALY

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FROM THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE TO

THE DAWN OF THE RENAISSANCE

BY

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FELLOW OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS

WITH NEARLY FIVE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. II.

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ARCHITECTURE IN ITALY

CHAPTER V

THE SOUTHERN ROMANESQUE

THE influences which moulded the civilization and the art of Southern Italy during the Middle Ages are singularly complicated and difficult to trace. The southern extremity of the peninsula divided the Christian world, eastern and western, into two nearly equal parts, and, lying directly in the track of all the sea-borne commerce which went on between the two, seemed to invite either warlike attack or peaceful colonization from both. We have seen how even in Northern Italy the constant wars, and the constant fluctuations of government and population, blurred the historical record and interrupted the historical sequence of architectural development. But in the South, whose civilization and art are a palimpsest of overlying deposits from all the various forces which governed the world for a thousand years, — where Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Lombards, Arabs, and Normans, each in their turn, planted their victorious banners, and for a longer or shorter period impressed their features on the life of the country, — what remains visible to us at the present day rarely represents the pure expression of the mind of any single period or race, but a mixture, of which it is often extremely difficult to separate and assign the component parts.

Condition of Southern cities.

At the end of the sixth century, when the stream of Lombard invasion had penetrated southward as far as Benevento and Salerno, the chain of splendid cities which had made the name of Magna Græcia illustrious had long been in a condition of hopeless decay, and in some cases had disappeared from the face of the earth.[1] Whatever monuments of the ancient architecture may then have remained in those regions have long since ceased to exist, and were probably even at that time in a state of ruin. The Lombards may be said to have found, to all intents and

[1] Even in Cicero's time, "Magna Græcia nunc quidem deleta est." *De Am.*, iv.

purposes, a fresh field for such art as they had at command. The southern provinces were, however, still a portion of the Byzantine empire, and what was more important, their laws, customs, dress, and language were Greek. Yet the seven centuries of decaying Byzantine rule have left but slight traces in the later architecture of the region, which took its character from the foreign races by whom the country was successfully invaded.

The seventh century was occupied by the Lombard princes of Benevento and Spoleto in efforts, more or less successful, to extend their power towards the south. By the close of the century these efforts had practically come to an end, and the eighth century was for the most part a period of uninterrupted peace throughout the Byzantine provinces. With the ninth century a new and portentous cloud appeared on the horizon.

The Saracens in Italy.

The waters of the Eastern Mediterranean had long been infested with the Arabian pirates of Syria, Egypt, and the African coast, and the numerous watch-towers which rose along the Italian shores, and which were built mostly between 795 and 816, bear witness to the alarm which they aroused. But it was about the year 813 that they made their first descent upon the Italian coast. The attack was hasty and furtive, and was not immediately followed up, but it was the earnest of one of the most terrible series of calamities which Italy had ever suffered. In 827 Euphemius, the Byzantine governor of Sicily, revolting against the Emperor, called to his aid in an evil hour a force of Mussulmans from Kairouan, on the edge of the African desert. These troops were not blind to the opportunity thus offered them, and, reinforced abundantly from the swarming Arab settlements of Africa, they conquered Palermo four years later, and promptly established themselves as masters of the whole western half of the island. Before the end of the century they had completed their work, and the whole of Sicily lay under Mohammedan domination. The Arabs (or Saracens, as they are more commonly called) had thus an admirable base of operations, of which they continually availed themselves, for attacks upon the whole southern portion of the Italian coast. In 838 Brindisi was taken, then in the possession of the Lombards, and attached to the duchy of Benevento; the next year Tarentum. In 841 a great fleet of the Imperial admiral Theophilus, reinforced by sixty Venetian galleys, was utterly defeated by the Sicilian fleet, which had thus the whole coast at its mercy, and which ravaged the cities of the Adriatic seaboard as far north as the mouths of the Po.

A year or two later the Saracens got possession of Bari, where they had been called to the help of the Lombard prince of Benevento, and they held that city for nearly thirty years. About the same time they took Misenum, near Naples, and in 846 appeared before Rome, sailing up the Tiber, with a land force accompanying them. Like the barbarians of the north, four centuries earlier, they refrained from entering the city, but contented themselves with plundering the great basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, until a Lombard army came to the relief of the Romans, and the Saracens were driven to Civita Vecchia and to their ships. Thirty years later the invasion was repeated, the Campagna was desolated, and everything destroyed, even to the gates of Rome, and John VIII., one of the most energetic, able, and warlike of all the Popes, was forced to purchase an ignoble peace by a tribute of twenty-five thousand mancusi of silver yearly.[1]

With varying fortunes and with short intervals of comparative quiet, this sort of thing went on through the ninth and tenth centuries, all over South Italy; scarcely a year passing in which some piratical expedition did not set sail from one or another Sicilian seaport for an attack on the Italian coast, while armies of greater or less size were constantly crossing the narrow strait from Sicily, or landing from transports at more distant points.[2]

The attacks of the Saracens were generally mere raids, and, though accompanied by great destruction and hardship, were rarely followed by anything like permanent settlement. Bari, whose occupation from about 840 to 870 has been already mentioned, and Sta. Severina, which was occupied at about the same time and for a slightly longer period, are almost the only exceptions. This will account, in part, for the rare occurrence in Italy of examples of Saracenic architecture, and for the slight extent to which that architecture affected even the details of the reigning style.[3] What that reigning style was, we are now to see. We shall find it to retain many of the features of the Roman basilicas, with some mixture both of the Lombard and the Central Romanesque.

I have said that nothing remains of the buildings which the

[1] Gregorovius, iii. pp. 99, 100. It was after this second attack upon Rome that John VIII. protected the basilica of St. Paul with a surrounding wall enclosing the suburb of Johannipolis, as mentioned above, vol. i. p. 30, of this work.

[2] See Lenormant, *La Grande Grèce*, vol. i. p. 68, *et seq.*

[3] Yet there is also to be taken into account the general destruction of the Saracenic monuments when the country had once been cleared of the invaders. The cathedral of Lucera, for instance, is built on the ruins of a mosque; and there are doubtless other examples of the same sort.

Lombards found existing in Southern Italy, or in those provinces of which they took possession shortly after the great invasion of Northern Italy under Alboin. Of the work of the Lombards themselves for the first century or two the remains are scarcely more abundant. Here, as in the northern portion of the peninsula, war, fire, and earthquake made short work of such buildings as they were at first capable of erecting. In Benevento, the earliest of the Lombard cities of the South, a cathedral was dedicated as early as 600, but an earthquake destroyed it in 990, with many other buildings of the town, and the church we see to-day is the rebuilded church of the first half of the eleventh century. In Salerno — whose occupation by the Lombards was contemporary with that of Benevento — the first cathedral of which we have any knowledge dates from about 840; but this also was rebuilt in 1047. Most of the early churches had a similar history. Probably the earliest of those which remain in something like the original form are San Gregorio at Bari (Fig. 238), — which, in the absence of authentic records, Mothes assigns to the period between 690 and 720, — and Santa Maria del Lago at Moscufo, presumably of the same date, but rebuilt in 1120. The two churches are almost precisely similar in plan and disposition, — simple rectangles, with nave and aisles, each terminating in a segmental apse, and separated by arcades on columns, the six plain, high-stilted arches of each arcade being divided into two equal groups by a pier with a half column at each end. The wall above the arches is absolutely plain, without string-course or other feature, but pierced by small, simple round-arched windows near the wooden open roof. The capitals are of various design, unequal in size, and unlike in form, those of San Gregorio having for the most part upright leafage, with volutes at the corners, and surmounted by low stilt-blocks, which are scarcely more than large abaci; those of Moscufo being block capitals of ruder and more distinctly Lombard character. In plan and disposition these churches are not much unlike the Roman basilicas of San Clemente and Santa Maria in Cosmedin.

The Lombards in the South.

The Southern provinces shared the renewed activity which is observable all over Western Europe during the eleventh century. Most of the early Lombard churches of that region, founded in the ninth century, were then taken in hand and rebuilt or enlarged. This was the case with the two great churches of Bari, the cathedral and San Nicola, with the cathedrals of Benevento, Bitetto, Bitonto, and Molfetta, all of which, except the last named, are characteristic

examples of the developed Lombard style of the South. The plan is very similar in all, — a long nave separated from the aisles by simple arcades of round arches supported on columns, often antique as in the Roman basilicas, and with capitals of varying and sometimes incongruous design; a broad and very high transept, generally with little projection beyond the aisle walls, with three apses opening from the east wall in the axes of the nave and aisles. Often the transept is divided into three square bays by two broad arches in the line of the nave columns, as we have seen in some of the early churches of Lucca and Pisa.[1] In some exceptional cases, as the cathedral of Bari, the central bay of the transept is covered by a lantern, which recalls the characteristic treatment of the crossing in the Lombard churches of the North. But the consistent adherence in the main to the basilican form, in contrast to the general adoption in the North of the cruciform plan, with its piers and vaulted bays, is most marked and striking.

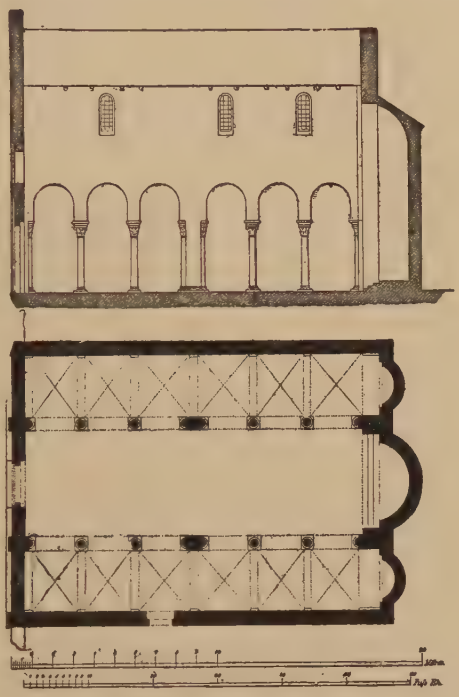

Fig. 238. S. Gregorio, Bari.

I have spoken of the cathedral of Benevento as one of the earliest of the churches which the conquering Lombards built in South Italy. The original church, dating from the very beginning of the seventh century, was renewed and enlarged early in the eleventh, when it became a five-aisled basilica, with lines of fluted columns with Roman Doric capitals, doubtless the spoil of some neighboring and more ancient temple, with round arches springing directly from the capitals, but with a continuous entablature above the arches, — an unusual combination before the days of the

Cathedral of Benevento.

[1] See chap. iv., p. 270.

Renaissance. The nave ends in the triumphal arch of the Roman basilica, beyond which is a broad transept, not projecting beyond the aisle walls, with a central apse covered by a semidome. The original crypt of the ninth century — perhaps enlarged — extends beneath the transept and apse, divided by eight rows of stumpy columns, carrying longitudinal and transverse arches, into square groined bays, four in each aisle. The crypt is lighted by windows at the two ends.

But it is in the two great churches of Bari that we find the earliest complete development of the type of which I am speaking. Both the

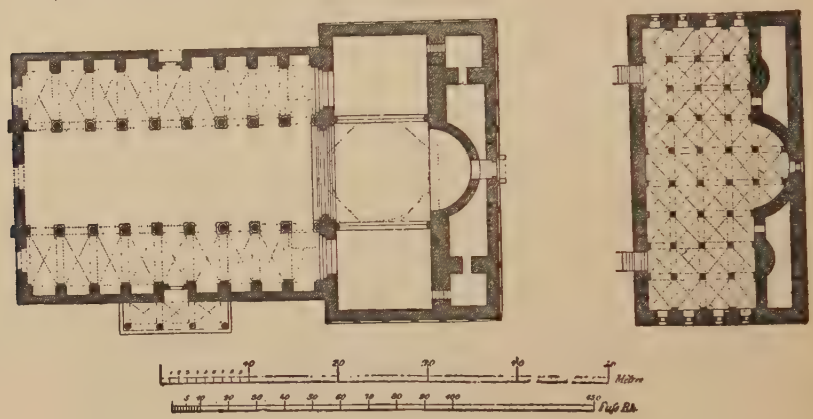

Fig. 239. Bari Cathedral and Crypt.

churches date originally from about 820, and both appear to have been rebuilt in 1034, though the greater rebuilding of San Nicola did not take place till a half century later. The cathedral was partially destroyed by the Turks, and reconsecrated after a second rebuilding in 1171, the Turks having just then been expelled from the province;[1] and the interior at least has suffered much subsequent restoration, the most disastrous being that modernization which overtook it in the seventeenth century, in common with so many other mediæval churches. The general disposition, however, is still visible. (Fig. 239.) It is a three-aisled basilica, about ninety feet broad and one hundred and eighty feet long; nave and

Bari Cathedral.

[1] Bari offers a striking illustration of the vicissitudes of Italian history in these remote ages. It was a Greek city until 802, when the Lombards got possession of it, holding it for forty years only to be driven out by the Saracens, who in their turn were expelled thirty years later by the Byzantines. These were again expelled by the Lombard dukes of Benevento, who remained in possession until the coming of the Normans in 1071. Yet Bari was an important and thriving city through all these changes.

aisles divided by arcades of nine round arches on columns, terminating at the transept in a pier with an engaged column on each face, except towards the aisle, where a pilaster takes its place. The aisles are low, and divided by cross-arches into oblong groined bays, over which is a triforium gallery as broad as the aisle, and opening into the nave by triplets of round arches under a high bearing arch nearly as broad as the arch below.[1] This arrangement is characteristic, and it is interesting to contrast it with the corresponding arrangement in the Lombard churches of the North of Italy, where the triforium opening is a single low, large, and undivided arch. The broad and slightly projecting transept is divided into three square bays by a single round arch in the line of each of the nave arcades, the central bay being covered by a low octagonal dome. A round apse opening from the central bay is flanked by two

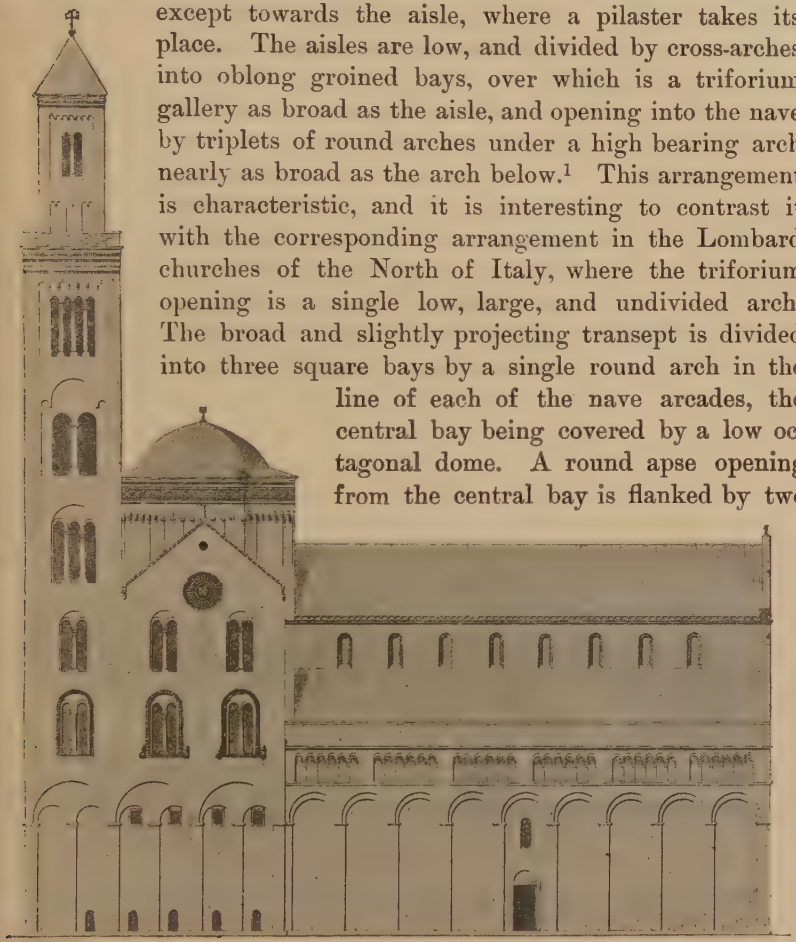

Fig. 240. Bari Cathedral. North Flank.

square towers, joined by a straight wall behind the apse, which is thus quite invisible from without, but which is lighted by a single

[1] This was the original arrangement, still to be traced by the curious visitor. But no indication of it is now visible from the interior of the church, where a bare blank wall is all which meets the eye between the nave arches and the spring of the modern barrel vault which covers the nave, and which abolishes the ancient clerestory. A more barbarous modernization can scarcely be found in Italy. From the chamber over the north aisle the old work can still be seen, — fine columns, twelve inches in diameter and nine feet high, with good Byzantine leafed capitals of various design.

large round-arched window near its vault, — a characteristic feature of the Southern Lombard church.

The exterior of the cathedral preserves to a great extent the aspect it had in the eleventh century, with the exception of the west front, of which the lower portion has been spoiled by modern rebuilding and the upper part by neglect. Nothing remains of the old work but the corbel-table of the gables, the two horizontal bands of sculpture across the middle compartment, and the archivolts of the rose window and the round-arched window beneath it. The flanks of the church are extremely fine (Fig. 240); the high aisle walls have a tall blind arcade of nine round arches on thin pilasters, with an open arcaded gallery above in groups of six small arches on columns. The middle arch of each aisle covers a recess sheltering a door. That of the south side is further marked by a recessed porch of three barrel-vaulted bays. The clerestory has single tall round-arched windows with a simple carved ornament carried around the opening, and a thin decorated cornice finishes the wall. The transepts are high and imposing; here the tall arches of the blind arcade enclose each two smaller arches, while above are two stages of two light arched windows with dividing shaft and bearing arch (now filled up) and a decorated rose in the gable. Each transept was flanked on the east by a tall and slender square tower with six stages of arched windows, variously grouped in two, three, or four openings with decorated cornice and battlement, and above a smaller lantern, square, in two stages, with pyramidal roof. These towers, rising to the height of something over two hundred feet, but of which that to the southward fell in 1613, and has not been rebuilt, were the great feature, not only of the transepts, but of the east end of the church. This east end (Fig. 241), like those of several of the contemporary churches of this region, notably the neighboring church of Santa Nicola, and the cathedrals of Bitetto and Bitonto, has the peculiarity I have mentioned above, — that the apse, generally the most characteristic feature of this portion of the church, is concealed by a flat wall, which continues the outer faces of the towers, and which is divided into three stages, of which the first is a continuation of the blind arcade of the flanks, while the second and third consist simply of two-light windows.[1] The apse, which touches the flat wall at its

[1] Freeman sees in these singular east fronts, with their twin towers joined by a flat wall, the hand of the Norman builder, who followed the example of the great west fronts of Caen. "Here we are in the city where the Norman displaced the Greek. The two great churches of Bari, like that of Bitonto, have their towers wrought into the building in the Norman fashion," etc., etc. (*Studies of Travel*, pp. 290–300.) But it is probable

centre, is, as I have already said, lighted by a single broad arched window just under the opening of its vault, which interrupts the blind arcade. This window, as in all similar cases, forms the central feature of the east front, and its importance is announced by its rich and profuse decoration. The wall between the towers is finished by a thin horizontal cornice, above which rises the octagonal lantern or dome which surmounts the central bay of the transept. Its high wall is divided somewhat unequally by thin shafts, ending in an arched corbel-table, of which the corbels are in the form of heads of men or beasts, or sometimes the half of a beast. The summit is encircled by a broad double frieze, enriched with carving of a rather nondescript character, above which only the flat segment of the dome is visible.[1]

Fig. 241. Bari Cathedral, East End.

The even more interesting church of San Nicola, commonly ascribed to the Normans (who doubtless reëdified it in 1087, when the bones of the saint were brought from Myra in Lycia[2]), presents so marked a resemblance to the cathedral, both in plan and design, and so little in either that is characteristically Norman, that it is impossible to believe, as is generally maintained, that the two churches differ in date by half a century, and that the latter is mainly the work of a separate race of builders. The plan (Fig. 242), though similar to that of the cathedral, has yet some points of difference. It is a little larger, — the total length being about two hundred feet and the breadth one hundred and ten. The

Bari, S. Nicola.

that in all these instances — Bari, Molfetta, Bitonto — the arrangement of the east end was complete as early as 1034, nearly half a century before the Normans had begun to make their influence felt in the architecture of this region. See Mothes, pp. 340, 387, 391.

[1] Mothes, p. 387; Schulz, vol. i., p. 21, pls. 1, 5, 7.

[2] See Dantier, *L'Italie*, vol. i., p. 205, for a picturesque account of the rivalry between Bari and Venice for the possession of the body of the venerable and beloved archbishop of Myra, and of its final transport to Bari.

nave, about thirty-six feet wide, is separated from the aisles by arcades of six broad round arches on columns of antique granite, with composite capitals of unusual height and of various design.

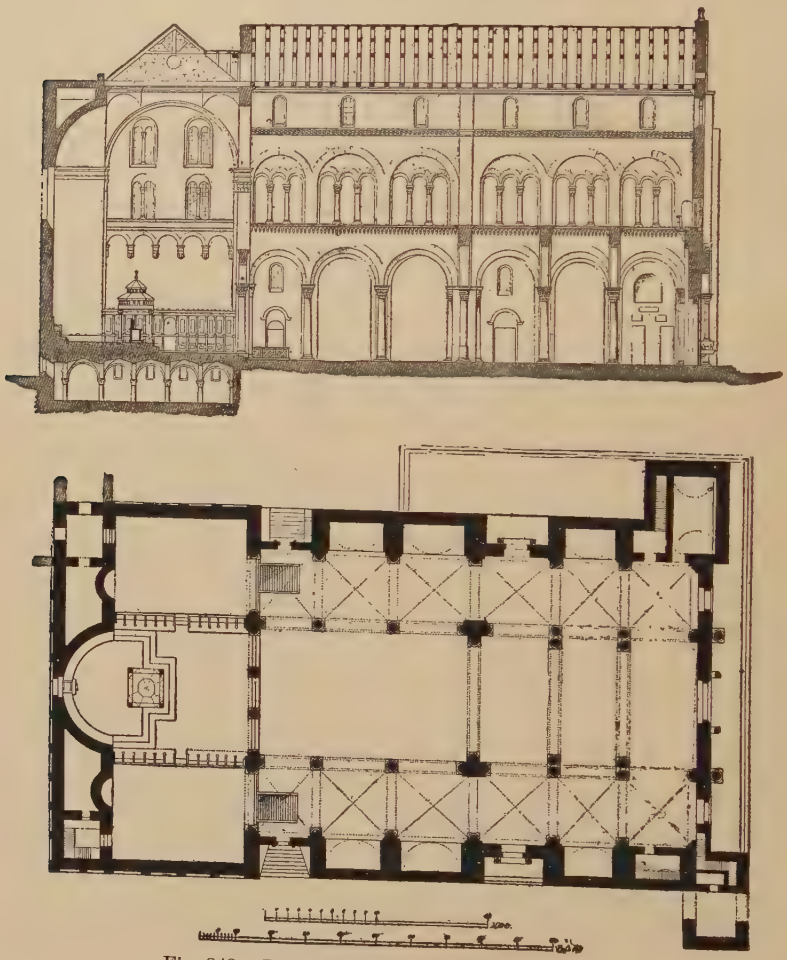

Fig. 242. Bari. S. Nicola. Plan and Section.

These arcades are separated into groups of three arches by piers with an engaged column on each of three faces, the column towards the nave taking the spring of a transverse arch, which spans the nave. The two westernmost columns of the nave arcade have each a similar column set against them on the nave side, answering to the engaged column of the pier, from which also transverse arches like

that just mentioned are thrown across the nave, the western half of which is thus divided into oblong bays, as if in preparation for vaulting. But that this was not the object is shown by the fact that the arches are very low, springing from the same level as the nave arches, and that the walls which are carried up over them reach only the height of the string-course under the triforium arcade, which is continued around the cross-wall as a cornice. The object was doubtless to insure the stability of the structure. A similar arrangement is seen at Altamure. The aisles are divided by transverse arches into six square bays, covered by groined vaults. From four of the six bays open rectangular chapels; the corresponding spaces outside the other two being occupied by recessed porches, with doorways into the aisles. Over the aisles are galleries, of which the arcades opening into the nave are counterparts of those formerly existing in the cathedral. The capitals of these arcades are beautiful examples of the best Byzantine work. The nave arcades terminate in a large square pier, from which a single broad round arch is carried across the transept, which is thus divided into three bays. The transept being of unusual breadth, these bays are oblong in form; nevertheless, the central one was to have been covered, as in the cathedral, by an octagonal lantern, which, however, got no further than the simple squinches in the spandrils of the transverse arches. From the central bay opens the usual round apse; the side bays have each a rudimentary apse in the form of a shallow segmental

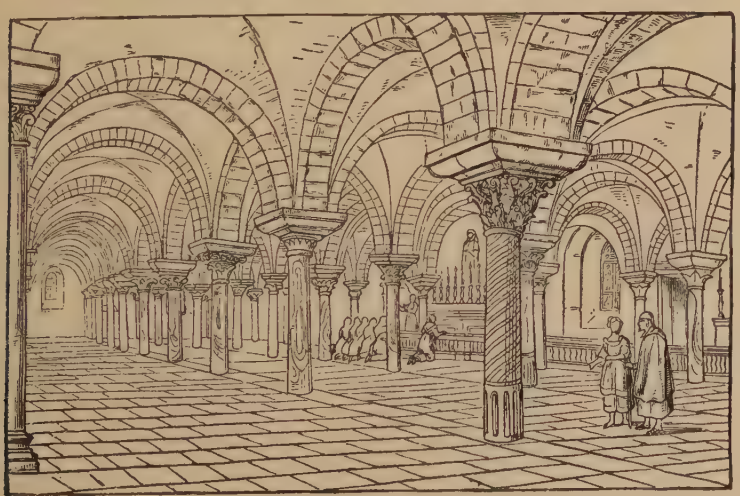

Fig. 243. S. Nicola. Crypt.

recess in the axis of the aisles. The transept is entered from the nave through a screen of three round arches on columns similar to those of the nave. Its floor is raised by three steps above that of the nave, and beneath it is an ancient crypt belonging to the church of the ninth century, but enlarged and beautified, in the rebuilding of 1087, to receive the body of the saint. (Fig. 243.) It is divided into square groined bays, by eight lines of columns of all lengths and sizes and materials, with capitals of various and interesting design, mostly Byzantine in character, with rude stilt-blocks taking the spring of the arches.

The exterior of the church is not less characteristic than the interior. The façade (Fig. 244), broad and somewhat bare, has the common Lombard division into three compartments by means of square pilasters, which here rest on stout engaged columns rising as high as the first stage. The gables and half gables are finished by large arched corbel-tables, and their outline expresses imperfectly the form of the church, the half gables of the aisles being carried considerably above the aisle roofs. The lower stage has the arches of a blind arcade, but the supporting pilasters are absent, and the arches spring from fragments of a cornice or impost moulding. Above the central doorway porch there is no conspicuous feature in the front more than three stages of coupled arched windows divided by columns, and niches with figures of saints. Fragments of large square towers flank the angles of the front; that to the north is believed to be part of the construction of 1034, while that to the south is of later date, and presumably of Norman construction.

It is difficult to trace in this simple and noble façade any essential modification by Norman influence of the treatment which the Lombards of the South had established, and of which a notable example is seen in the transept ends of the neighboring cathedral just described. The same may be said of the flanks of the church, and of the east end, with its straight wall joining the tall angle-towers, and concealing the apse which is suggested only by its high, decorated central window.[1] On the aisle walls the treatment is largely that of the cathedral, even to the projecting porch on the south side, of which everything has disappeared but the starts of the three transverse arches, which divided it into three square bays. There is no open triforium arcade as in the cathedral, but the groups of six arches are here without their shafts, and take the form of a large corbel-table, of which the two middle arches in each group become

[1] Schulz, vol. i., p. 31, pl. 3; Mothes, p. 389.

the heads of a two-light window, with mid-wall shafts, with capitals elongated crosswise of the wall, and occupying its full thickness.

The Bari churches may be taken as upon the whole the best examples of the type which the Lombards established and brought

Fig. 244. Bari. S. Nicola. West Front.

to perfection in the southern provinces of Italy. Other examples may be cited, however, not less characteristic, varying more or less in details, but keeping close to the type in essentials. At Bitetto and Bitonto the cathedrals of St. Michael and St. Valentine are in their origin closely contemporary with the two great churches of Bari, and were, like them, enlarged and rebuilt either in the eleventh or twelfth century. At Bitonto, the cathedral has externally the aspect of a five-aisled church, but what seem to be the outer aisles are in reality a range of chapels on either side; the place of the last chapel toward the transept being occupied by a recessed open porch similar to those at Bari. The plan is a rectangle about one hundred and ten feet broad and one hundred and fifty-three feet long, with a broad undivided transept occupying about one third of the length, with a crypt beneath. The nave arcades are divided into two groups of three arches each by compound piers similar to those which terminate the arcades at the transept. The church has been ruthlessly modernized, and in the process the triforium gallery on the north side has disappeared

Bitonto Cathedral.

behind a Renaissance wall, as in the cathedral at Bari. The transept has three eastern apses, of which those at the sides are not, as is usual, in the axis of the aisles, while all three are in plan a shallow segment of a circle, and quite invisible on the exterior, the east wall being thickened so as to present outwardly a flat surface, on which the central apse is indicated by the characteristic high window, with its flanking columns resting on beasts, and supporting a rich but not very delicately sculptured archivolt.

Outwardly, this church is one of the finest in Southern Italy. (Fig. 245.) In style it is perfectly consistent with the two great churches of Bari which I have already noticed, but it is more closely designed than either, and possesses some features which are quite without parallel. The façade has the usual division into compartments, representing, though as usual not exactly defining, the outline of the interior, and the design is masterly. The three doorways of the lowest stage were originally covered by a broad projecting porch in three bays, extending across the whole front of nave and aisles, and of which the wall arches and the starts of the four transverse arches are still visible in the masonry of the façade. Above the great central doorway, a fine composition of which I shall speak later, the second stage has in the middle compartment two fine two-light windows under bearing arches, with broad bands of carving surrounding the arches, and which rest on a moulded string-course running between the strong square pilasters which divide the compartments. A fine wheel-window occupies the gable, surrounded by a belt of carving, and the upper half covered by a concave archivolt enriched with sculpture and springing from the backs of grotesque beasts which stand on the capitals of two flanking columns, the columns also resting on carved corbels. A strong corbel-table follows the rake of the gable, and of the half gables of the aisles, which are slightly broken at the dividing line of the aisles and chapels.

But it is on the flanks of the church that the most interesting portion of the design is to be seen. The blind arcade which forms the usual feature of the aisle wall is treated here in an unusual manner, the six arches being of uncommon breadth, springing from broad, flat pilasters with simple moulded capitals decorated with the Venetian dentil, and enclosing each a single high and narrow round-arched window, or a double window under a bearing arch. The last arch towards the transept opens into a recessed porch. Over the arcade appears what is perhaps the earliest of the rare examples in Southern Italy of the Lombard arcaded gallery, but treated here

in a manner so individual and peculiar as almost to raise a doubt as to its relationship with the Northern architecture. The gallery occupied the space over the side chapels as the triforium occupied the space over the aisles, and both galleries were covered by a single roof, the outer portion of which has disappeared, but is now, in 1898, being restored. (Fig. 246.) The outer arcade, however, on the south side, is in excellent preservation. (Fig. 247.) It is divided by strong square piers into six groups of six arches each, corresponding to the division of the blind arcade below, and of the nave arcades, and a wall which connects each pier with the wall at the back of the arcade divides the gallery into separate loggie. The small round arches are heavily moulded, and rest on columns of an extraordinary character. The shafts are of uniform size and length, but show a great variety of ornament, with capitals of greatly exaggerated size and height spreading crosswise of the wall, which is of considerable thickness, so as to receive the entire bearing of it upon their abaci, and showing in their vigorous sculpture a prodigious variety of motives, both animal

Fig. 245. Bitonto Cathedral.

and vegetable, in which the wild and fantastic Lombard spirit is plainly predominant. I have called them capitals, but they might with as much exactness be called stilt-blocks, since the top of the shaft is broadened out, — yet without the intervention of a necking, — and brought to a square plan with something like an abacus, to receive the vastly larger block above.

The transept is as high as the west front; the blind arcade of the flank is here continued, the arches enclosing each two smaller arches. Above are two stages of windows, with a large wheel in the gable. The whole treatment is extremely similar to that of Bari, and, indeed, to that of most of the contemporary churches of the region.

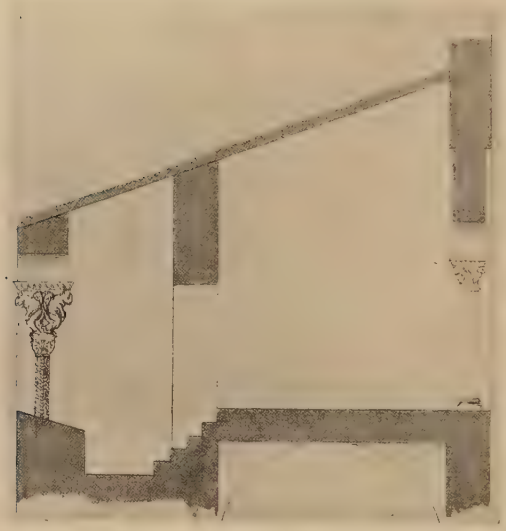

Fig. 246. Bitonto. Section of Triforium and Gallery.

The examples thus far cited are perhaps sufficient to show how far the Lombard architecture of the South had wandered from its parent style in the North of Italy. The spirit of the Lombard was to a great extent preserved, largely through the ornament; but the old forms underwent essential changes in many directions. The squat gable covering the whole front, the low grouped piers of the nave arcades, the low, broad arches of the triforium, were discarded, as indeed they were in the later Lombard churches of the North. The expression is still that of sternness and rigidity; but there is more height, both in the mass and in the parts; more light in the interior; more openness to external influences. Often the lines of characteristic features are retained where the feature itself has disappeared. There is, for instance, no example in South Italy, so far as I know, of a façade with the eaves-gallery, which forms so characteristic and so beautiful a feature of the early Lombard churches of the North. But in the cathedral of Matera, dating from 1064 to 1080, the façade has the familiar arcade following the rake of the central gable, though

Fig. 247. Bitonto Cathedral. Gallery on Flank.

there is no gallery; the arcade is all in front of the wall, the columns being carried on corbels. The arched corbel-table of the Northern churches is almost equally common in the South, but the panelling of the walls by pilaster strips is seldom seen. But in this same cathedral of Matera these features appear, combined in an exaggerated form in the lateral compartments of the façade and on the flanks of the church, the arches being in couples separated by pilaster strips. At Balsignamo, the church of S. Pietro, now a mere fragment, shows the same vigorous combination of the corbel-table with the blind arcade, — the arches being of great size and depth, and supported alternately by strong pilasters and corbels.

Matera Cathedral.

At Pentima, some forty miles to the west of Chieti, the church of San Pellino shows in its east end an unusual adherence to Northern forms. The square wall, unbroken except by the apse, finishes with a horizontal corbel-table, while the apse itself, which rises a whole stage above it, has a colonnade of very slender shafts with thin elongated capitals, and above, separated from it by a range of vertical panels filled with rather coarse sculpture, a thoroughly Lombard arcade on detached columns set against the wall. The apse and transept of the older cathedral, which lie adjacent to the church on the south flank, are also very Lombard in

Pentima, San Pellino.

character, with the arched corbel-table at the eaves, and the walls divided by pilaster strips.[1]

Byzantine artists in Italy.

The effect of the Byzantine influence on the architecture which we have been considering is seen less in the general plan and disposition than in the detail, and especially in the ornament. The great influx of Greek artists into Italy after the edict of Leo the Isaurian has already been mentioned. By far the greater number of these settled in the southern half of the peninsula. But these artists seem to have been for the most part painters, sculptors, or mosaicists, from whom we should naturally look for ornament rather than for broad architectural design. In a few instances, however, the plan shows the Greek hand. These churches, which can all be referred to a period not much later than the middle of the ninth century, are doubtless survivals of a great group of early churches built in whole or in part under Byzantine influence, the greater part of which have long since disappeared. One of the most interesting of these remaining examples is the cathedral of Molfetta. Its plan (Fig. 248) is an absolute departure from those we have been considering. The nave is separated from the aisles on each side by three broad round arches, springing from piers which are cruciform in plan with a half column on each face. From those columns which are towards the nave spring arches which divide the nave into square bays. The bays of the aisles are covered by half barrel vaults, those of the nave by domes of equal size, about twenty-five feet in diameter, but of unequal height, the eastern dome being the lowest. The central dome has a parabolic vertical section, and an octagonal plan on the exterior. The two others are hemispherical. This multiplying of domes, here, as in so many other instances all over Italy, notably in the case of S. Antonio at Padua, though unmistakable evidence of Greek influence, does not suffice to make a Byzantine church. The plan is not strictly Byzantine, and the exterior has no hint of Greek influence. The only characteristic portion is the east end (Fig. 249), which is flat, as at Bari and Bitonto, with the apse quite concealed. The first stage is remarkable for a tall, interlacing, blind arcade, of which only the

Molfetta Cathedral.

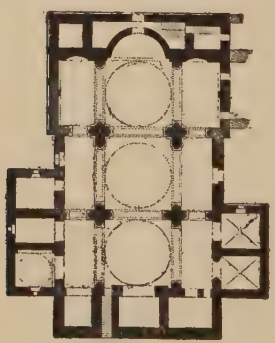

Fig. 248. Molfetta Cathedral.

[1] Schulz, vol. ii., p. 55, pl. 60; Mothes, p. 259.

alternate arches are supported by pilasters, the others on corbels, and which is broken in upon in the centre by the high apse window, flanked, as usual, by columns resting on grotesque beasts. Above the centre of the façade rises the low eastern dome, with the higher octagonal dome of the centre behind it; and from the two angles rise two slender square towers, their faces flush with the wall, and with three stages of grouped windows above it.

Fig. 249. Molfetta. East End.

Giovenazzo Cathedral.

At Giovenazzo the cathedral has an east end very similar to that of Molfetta, with two slender flanking towers at the angles, the wall between having a blind interlacing arcade, interrupted in the centre by the great apse window, which is here less decorated than most of its class. Above, this window is repeated and flanked by a two-light window under a bearing arch. The whole is very graceful and unusual. The interlacing arcade is continued on the walls of the transepts. It is in this feature, and it may almost be said in this alone, that the influence of the Saracenic architecture in Sicily made itself visible in the churches of South Italy, an influence which did not long survive the Norman occupation of these regions.

The smaller church of S. Maria dei Martiri, a mile outside the walls of Molfetta, is very similar to the cathedral in plan and disposition. The church has three domes, of which the most easterly one is probably an addition, perhaps as late as 1150, the other being presumably contemporary, or nearly so, with the cathedral. All the domes are octagonal on the outside, with rather flat roofs, and all rest on pointed arches.

The church of S. Sabina at Canosa, nearly contemporary with Molfetta, resembles that in the multiplicity of its domes, but is quite unlike it in other important respects. (Fig. 250.) It has a fully

[1] Mothes, pp. 393–620; Schulz, i., p. 69.

developed transept, in three square bays, each covered by a dome, while two other domes cover the two bays of the nave.[1] The five domes are of equal diameter, — about twenty-six feet, — and quite flat, and they have this peculiarity, that the round arches on which they repose are not the main arches which connect the square nave piers, but supplementary arches inside of these, and springing from columns of granite and green marble set in the angles of the bays. Between the great piers of the nave are smaller intermediate piers, which give the plan a still more Byzantine aspect. The north aisle is divided by a transverse arch into two oblong bays covered by barrel vaults; the south aisle is undivided.[2]

Canosa, S. Sabina.

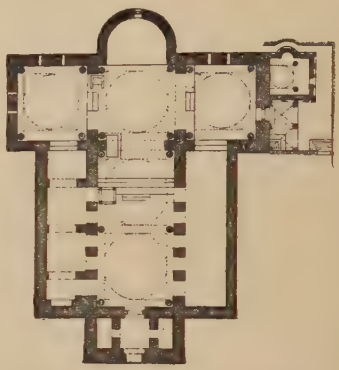

Fig. 250. S. Sabina. Canosa.

Another instance of multiplied domes in a church otherwise quite without the Byzantine character is the small church of the Immaculata at Trani, dating originally from 870–880, and thus closely contemporary with the two just noticed, but partially rebuilt early in the eleventh century. Here the plan bears much resemblance to that of Molfetta, — a rectangle forty by sixty feet, divided by round arches springing from grouped piers into nine square bays, of which the central one and the four which immediately adjoin it formed the arms of a cross, the four in the angles being lower. The central bay, and those on the east and west of it, are covered by domes, the three bays on each side by half barrel vaults, of which the crown abuts against the base of the domes. The nave terminates in a square projecting choir covered by a groined vault. (Fig. 251.) On the exterior the central dome, the only one visible, shows an octagonal drum pierced by single round-arched windows, and covered by a high octagonal roof. The other two are lower, and show only the octagonal

Trani. Immaculata.

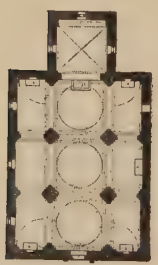

Fig. 251. Immaculati. Trani.

[1] Mothes, p. 611, presumes all the domes except the central one to belong to the rebuilding of 1100, just as he presumes the eastern and western domes of Molfetta to belong to the rebuilding of 1035. Both presumptions are purely conjectural, and seem to me improbable, as the Byzantine impulse from which the domes arose was much stronger in South Italy during the ninth than during the eleventh century.

[2] Schulz, i., p. 55, pl. 5; Mothes, p. 319.

roofs above the nave roof, which was originally crossed in the centre by the roof of the northern and southern bays adjacent to the centre: the roofs of the four bays at the angles being lower, so that the

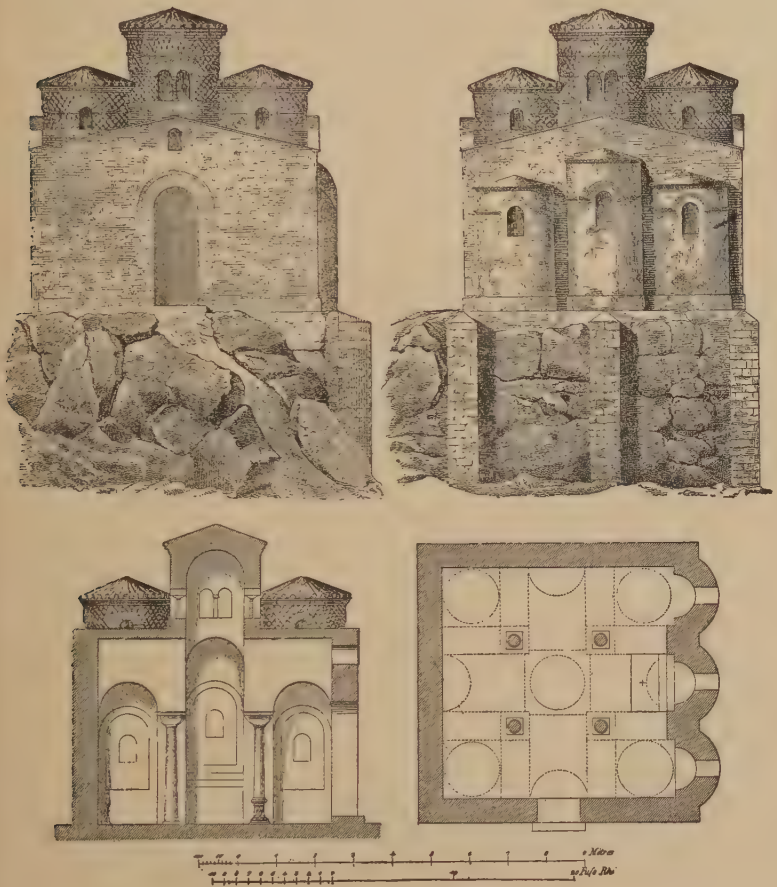

Fig. 252. Stilo. La Cattolica.

external aspect of the building was that of a Greek cross with a high dome at the intersection of the arms.[1]

But perhaps the most thoroughly Byzantine building in South Italy is the little church at Stilo called La Cattolica. (Fig. 252.) It is a square of about twenty-five feet built on a rocky height, and going back to 820. Four columns without bases, and with rude block capitals, form a square in the centre, and sup- Stilo, Cattolica.

[1] Schulz, i., p. 130; Mothes, pp. 340–392.

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port twelve arches which divide the interior into nine bays about five feet square, of which the middle one is covered by a hemispherical dome on a high cylindrical drum, and covered in its turn by a tiled roof, low and conical. The four bays at the corners are covered by similar but lower domes; the interior bays by barrel vaults whose axes radiate from the centre of the church, and which thus buttress the central dome. Three apses project from the three eastern bays of the square. The exterior is singular. The walls are of brick covered by flat gables; in one side is a plain, high, round-arched door; in another, the three projecting apses, the middle one of superior height. Out of the roof rise the five domes, each a cylinder with a low conical tiled roof, the walls covered with a fine diaper in terra cotta.[1]

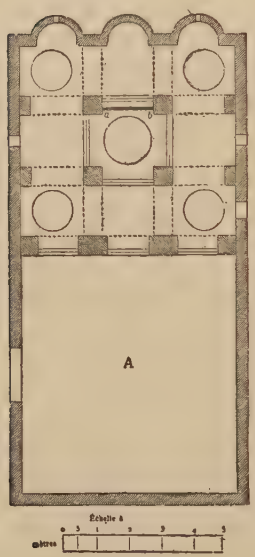

Fig. 253. S. Marco. Rossano.

Rossano.

Curiously enough, an almost exact counterpart of the Cattolica, as far as dimensions, plan, and general disposition are concerned, is found at Rossano, in the church of San Marco. (Fig. 253.) Here the church is preceded by a square atrium, from which the interior is entered by three doorways. The central columns of the Cattolica are here replaced by four square piers; but the division into nine square bays, the five domes of the centre and angles, the barrel vaults of the middle bays, the three apses, — are the same as at Stilo. The one essential difference between the two churches is that in San Marco the domes are not raised on drums, and project but slightly above the roof. The central dome is on pendentives.[2]

S. Germano, S. M. delle Cinque Torri.

The prototype of both these churches may perhaps be found in the much larger church of S. Maria delle Cinque Torri at San Germano, at the foot of the hill which is crowned by the great monastery of Monte Cassino, and dating perhaps from the last years of the eighth century. Here is the same central square, from the angles of which arches divide the surrounding space into square bays, with three apses projecting from the three eastern bays. But the central square (here enclosed by

[1] Schulz, vol. ii., p. 356, pl. 88; Mothes, p. 321.
[2] Diehl, p. 190.

three arches on each side) and the four bays at the angles, are covered not by domes, but by low square towers, in the Lombard fashion, the central one higher, — each with a single round-arched window in each face.[1]

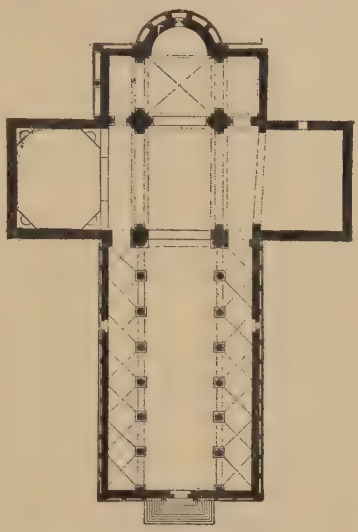

Fig. 254. Troja. Cathedral.

In a few churches of the eleventh century, notably at Troja and Siponto, the influence of the contemporary Pisan architecture is strikingly visible. The cathedral of Troja, dating originally from the first quarter of the eleventh century, was rebuilt in the last years of that century, when its plan must have been materially changed, particularly in the eastern portions, and it, as well as the walls, especially the façade and the flanks, took on the Pisan aspect. The plan (Fig. 254) is a well-developed Latin cross, with some points of resemblance to that of the cathedral of Pisa. The nave arcades are each of seven narrow arches, carried on high polished granite columns, with Corinthian capitals of irregular and various design. The aisles are very narrow and groined, though there are no galleries. The crossing forms an oblong measuring about twenty-six by forty feet covered by a barrel vault, and the lines of the nave arcades and aisle walls are continued across the transept each in a single broad pointed arch, dividing it into one long narrow bay and one square one on each end. Beyond the crossing the nave and aisles are continued each in a single bay, the central one forming the choir, being covered by a groined vault and terminating in a semicircular apse. The side bays are covered by barrel vaults. The forms of the arches are far from uniform, round and pointed arches occurring in various parts of the church. The nave is covered by a flat wooden ceiling. Much of the sculpture of the capitals is beautiful, and some of it strongly Byzantine in character.

Troja Cathedral.

The exterior shows much more clearly than the interior the hand of the Pisan architect. The façade and the aisle walls have the full Pisan first story, — a splendid blind arcade, the arches carried on

[1] Mothes, p. 147; D'Agincourt, pl. 25; Ricci, i., p. 227; Hübsch, pls. 19, 20. The Martorana, in Palermo, also repeats this identical plan and arrangement.

flat pilasters with freely treated Corinthian capitals, and on the façade a simple geometrical mosaic over the arches. The middle arch of the façade is much larger than the others, and encloses a fine doorway, with the characteristic broad pilasters, heavy sculptured lintel, and round bearing arch and tympanum. The arch-heads enclose each an inlay of marble, with alternate circles and lozenges, and in the middle arch above the bearing arch of the doorway is a group of bas-reliefs enclosed in symmetrically disposed panels. A richly carved horizontal cornice of somewhat classical design crowns the first stage, the brackets having the form of Lombard beasts. The upper stage of the façade is obviously later than the lower, and is quite out of keeping with it, consisting of a great wheel window with tracery of intersecting pointed arches and an archivolt of rather coarse grotesque sculpture, enclosed in a clumsy round arch covering the whole width of the nave, which springs from coupled columns resting on crouching lions. In the arcades of the flanks the arch-heads and spandrils are decorated with inlays and bas-reliefs of various designs, and a portion of the arches enclose round arched windows, and one a doorway of Pisan character similar to that of the façade. On the south flank the clerestory has a blind arcade of eleven arches on slender columns, — the voussoirs black and white; and each alternate arch has a simple round-arched window. The contrast so far in the whole expression of the exterior to the Lombard work is complete.

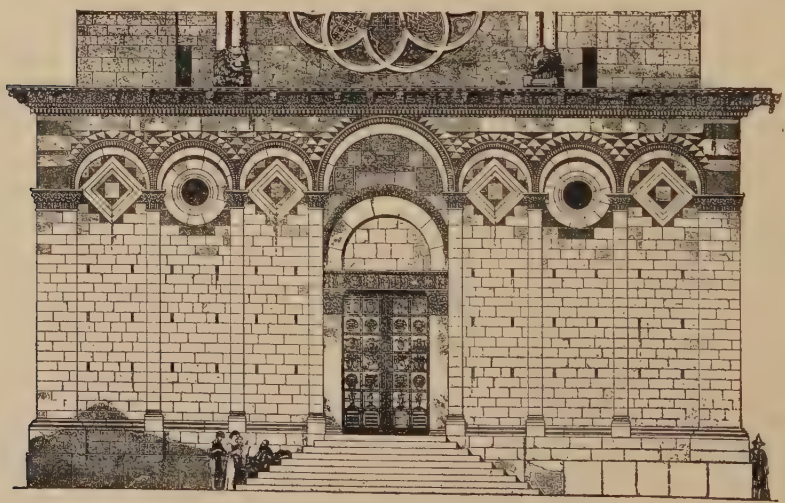

Fig. 255. Troja Cathedral. Lower Part of West Front.

On the east end, however, we find the Lombard again left to himself. (Fig. 256.) Here the apse is remarkable in having two tiers of columns standing free; those of the first tier on a continuous stylobate, with foliage capitals, and stilt-blocks running back into the wall, on which stand the columns of the second tier, with capitals charged with grotesque Lombard beasts and carrying round arches. Under the middle arch is the usual high apse window, with carved lintel, carried on columns which stand on lions issuing from behind the columns of the arcade,—a curious and most characteristically Lombard caprice.

Fig. 256. Troja. Portion of Apse.

Siponto.

At Siponto the half-ruined church of S. Maria Maggiore shows also, but to a less degree, the Pisan influence. Of the original church of about 1100, only the external walls remain, the interior having been reconstructed in 1508. It is a square of about sixty feet, with a doorway on the west front and apses on the east and south. On either side of the doorway are two round blind arches on columns, with decorated lozenges between the shafts, and two at the spring of

the arches. The eastern side is similarly treated, including the apse as well as the flat wall from which it projects.

The church has an interesting crypt, divided by columns and arches into twenty-five square bays covered by groined vaults, with apses in the centre of the east and south walls. In the rebuilding of 1508 four of the small columns were replaced, or perhaps enclosed, by massive piers which sustain the piers of the upper church supporting the modern dome. Otherwise the crypt retains its original aspect.[1]

Benevento, S. Sofia.

As in the North, so in the South, but less frequently, the circular plan was sometimes adopted. The oldest and most interesting example of this plan is to be seen in S. Sofia at Benevento, founded by Prince Arrigis in 774. The arrangement is peculiar. (Fig. 258.) The central division is a hexagon formed by six arches resting on antique Corinthian columns and supporting a dome. Around this hexagon is a ring of ten arches similarly supported, the space between the two arcades being divided into bays of various forms, triangular and trapezoidal, covered by vaults and domes. A circular aisle encloses the whole, divided into fourteen bays, of which the most easterly one opens into a square tribune, while on the opposite or western side the circle is broken by a broad rectangular transept projecting on either side considerably beyond the outer periphery of the church, the diameter of which is about seventy feet.[2]

Fig. 257. Siponto. Section of Cathedral.

On the exterior, the west front, about one hundred and eight feet broad, has a projecting centre divided in the Lombard manner into compartments by four pilaster strips carrying blind arches, the

[1] Schulz, i., 214, pl. 38; Mothes, p. 735.
[2] Schulz, ii., p. 327, pl. 43; Mothes, p. 303.

central compartment carrying a Lombard doorway, flanked by a Corinthian column on each side; two other columns have disappeared, but the lions on which they stood remain. The round arch of the doorway contains in its tympanum a bas-relief of Christ enthroned, with other figures, on a ground of gold mosaic. The church was attached to a convent of nuns, of which the fine cloister still remains with some sixty columns, extremely varied in form and design, and with much archaic sculpture in the capitals.[1]

Brindisi, S. Giovanni Battista.

At Brindisi is the small church of S. Giovanni Battista, dating probably from the middle of the ninth century, when it was doubtless a baptistery. Its plan is that of many of the Northern baptisteries, an inner ring of eight columns and arches supporting a circular wall. The western arch, somewhat broader than the rest, opens into a choir consisting of a square groined bay with a round apse. The remainder of the inner ring is enclosed by a circular aisle, divided by arches into irregularly vaulted bays. The roof of the inner circle, presumably of wood, has disappeared and the interior is choked with shrubbery. On the west is a Lombard doorway, with flanking columns standing on lions, the capitals having some characteristic sculpture, with foliage mingled with birds,[2] etc.

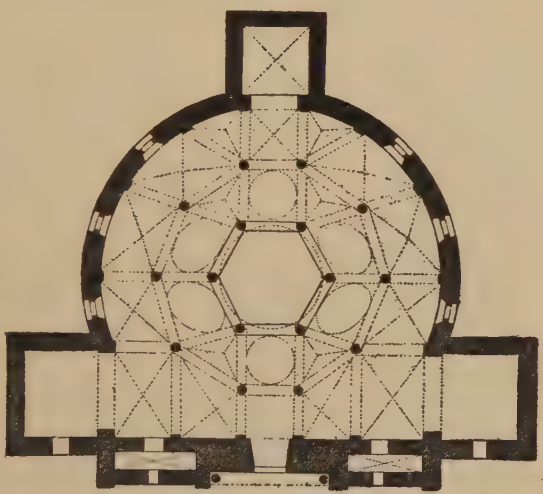

Fig. 258. Benevento. S. Sofia.

As the Lombard preponderance in the South lessened gradually during the eleventh century, the variations in one direction or another from the early type of church grew broader and more pronounced. Yet the great features of the earlier churches were long retained, — the basilican plan of nave and aisles, the broad high transept, the round apse, the ample triforium gallery, — while the departure from the earlier character was seen chiefly in the growing

[1] Schulz.

[2] Mothes, p. 338; Schulz.

refinement and the lessening vigor of the ornament, and in the tendency towards a more Northern type of tower.

Trani Cathedral.

At Trani, on the shore of the Adriatic, some twenty-five miles to the northwest of Bari, the cathedral, begun in the last years of the eleventh century, and finished in 1143, shows a noticeable departure from Lombard types, chiefly in the façade, whose broad surface is quite undivided either vertically or horizontally, and of which the first stage is a low blind arcade of nine arches on engaged columns, partaking more of the Pisan than the Lombard or Norman character. The middle arch, much broader and higher than the others, and quite distinct from them in design, is the arch of the great doorway, and is enriched with sculpture of a remarkable character, of which I will speak more at length in a later page. On either side of it are four arches supported on low columns with spreading capitals, of which the broad flat leafage much resembles that of the capitals in the triforium gallery at Altamura. A braided band encircles the shaft in the place of the astragal, and the abacus is strongly moulded. The arches are enclosed first by a continuous ball ornament, and then by a broad deep archivolt like an inclined soffit, decorated with delicate, sharply cut Byzantine foliage. The first column on either side the central doorway has capitals of a wholly distinct character from the others, more massive in design and coarser in execution, and each supports the first stone of an arch which formed the side of a projecting porch which covered the doorway, but which has now disappeared. High above this arcade are three round-arched windows with decorated archivolts of Byzantine character, the middle one having originally been flanked by slender columns resting on elephants and supporting grotesque beasts, of which another crowns the arch. The treatment is of much the same character with that of the high apse windows which are so conspicuous a feature in the east ends of these churches. The columns are gone, as is also the tracery of a large wheel window above. This window, as well as the gable which follows the interior outline of the church, is decorated with a small, delicate, carved ornament, in strong contrast to the usual vigorous corbel-table of the Lombard façades. The front is flanked on the south by a tall square campanile, whose wall continues that of the façade, divided into six stages, of which the first is a broad and high pointed arch allowing a thoroughfare beneath the tower, while the others have each a grouped window in each face divided by columns and with openings increasing regularly in number towards the summit, the belfry having five.

Fig. 259. Trani. Portion of South Flank, showing Transept.

The western doorways are entered from a raised terrace some ten feet above the ground, extending along the whole front of the church, and approached by a double staircase, under which is the entrance to the remarkable crypt mentioned later. Along the front of the terrace is a line of bases which may be either the remains of an arcade formerly extending on each side of the central porch or the preparation for one which was never built.

The flanks are very interesting. Here is the usual blind arcade on the aisle wall; but in this case the arches spring not from flat

pilasters, but from well-marked buttresses with simple base and capital opposite the nave columns. There is no triforium arcade as at Bari and Bitonto, but a small simple round-arched window in the head of each arch lights the aisle, and is repeated in the triforium wall above and in the low clerestory. The blind arcade is continued on the transept, but its form is changed as at Bari and Bitonto, — each arch enclosing two smaller arches and separated by a similar pilaster. Above are a pair of two-light windows and over them a rose window. The horizontal decorated cornice, with bold projecting corbels in the form of animals and human figures, is carried around the four sides of the transept, passing above the ridge of the nave roof. Above this the long transept roof is brought to a gable at each end. The effect of this portion of the church, dominating all the rest, as seen from the water, is very striking and peculiar, and is heightened by the lofty rectangle of the eastern wall, with its group of three apses, — the central one much the highest, — each with its single window decorated in the characteristic manner, with flanking columns standing on elephants, but with less richness of ornament than many similar examples in this region.

The interior is much like that of Bitonto, except that the columns of the nave arcades are coupled transversely, probably with a view to the greater security of the aisle vaulting. The columns towards the aisles are apparently a later addition, as they are not covered by the nave arches, and the member of the last pier towards the transept which receives the bearing of the last arch is in line with the columns which are next the nave. The transverse arches which divide the aisles into square groined bays spring on the wall side from engaged columns, which correspond to the inner columns of the nave, with its broad bearing arches enclosing groups of three arches on columns. The triforium closely resembles those of the two churches of Bari, and the clerestory is lighted as in them by single small round-arched windows. The nave opens by a triumphal arch into the broad transept, which is undivided, although a flat pilaster forming a member of the final pier of the nave arcade, and another opposite on the east wall, seem to indicate either that a single broad arch formerly spanned the transept in the line of the nave arcades or that one was prepared for.

One of the most remarkable features of this church is the crypt. There are indeed two crypts, one occupying the space beneath the transept, and the other that beneath the nave, while on either side the spaces under the aisles are divided into rectangular chambers.

The two crypts are probably of different dates, that under the transept being the older and higher, having a height of some sixteen feet; and the two are separated by a solid wall pierced in the centre by a door of communication at which are four steps descending into the older crypt. Both crypts are divided in the usual way by low columns and round arches into square groined bays, and that under the transept is lighted by two large round-arched windows at each end, and one in the apse, which repeats the central apse of the church above, the side apses being represented by square niches in the thickness of the wall.

In the cathedral at Altamura (eleventh century, altered under Frederick II. in the thirteenth century) we may note a wider departure from the Lombard type. In the interior the compound pier which we observed at Bitonto, dividing the nave arcade into two groups of three arches each, is repeated in each arcade, which is thus divided into three groups, the middle one of three arches, the others of two each. But here, unlike Bitonto, the evident

Altamura Cathedral.

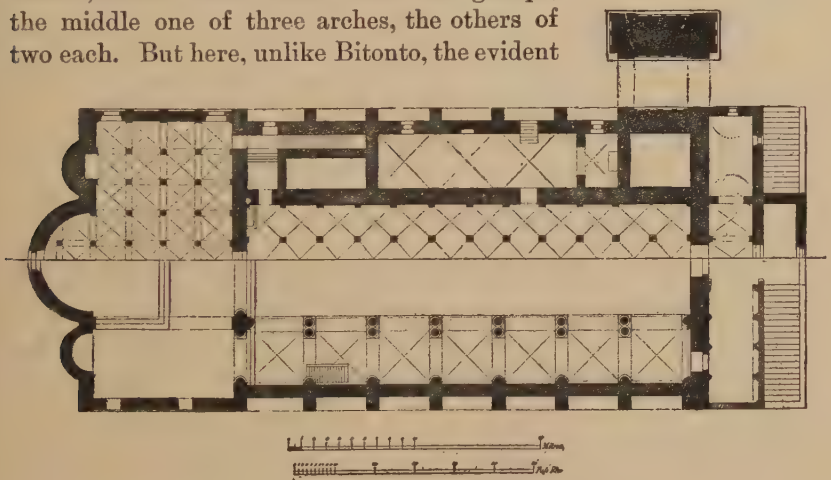

Fig. 260. Trani. Plan of Cathedral and Crypt.

purpose of the piers is carried out — or at least partially so — by transverse arches spanning the nave, carrying the wall, which terminates at the height of the triforium string, as at San Nicola, Bari. As at Bitonto, the aisles are groined and flanked each by a line of chapels, of which that nearest the transept becomes an open recessed porch. But, unlike Bitonto again, and all the other churches I have heretofore noticed, the aisle bays are separated by pointed arches; the transept, which is divided into three nearly

equal square bays, has no apse; and the east end is square and unbroken, within as without. This is a form which rarely appears in the early churches of any country except England, though isolated examples occur in Normandy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[1] The disposition of the three stages of the nave bays is much the same as at Bari and Trani, but the Norman feeling is again manifest in the form of the nave arches, which are narrower and higher, and in the columns, which are much stouter, than in most of the earlier churches of South Italy. The capitals of the columns are of a curious character, which it is difficult wholly to account for, on the ground either of Norman or Byzantine influence. Of the great nave capitals, perhaps the most characteristic have two ranges of rigid, close-set upright foliage, and a third of flowing horizontal leafage, with a man's head in the centre and Lombard beasts at the angles. The broad abacus is covered with a horizontal vine. The capitals of the small columns in the triforium are of a wholly different character; very high, and with the broad leaves at the angles set each in two vertical faces at right angles to each other, so that the upper half of the capital forms nearly a cube.

The exterior also departs widely from the type we have been considering. The façade is unlike any other. The whole breadth of the church is covered by an undivided wall carried to a height somewhat above the ridge of the nave, where it breaks at the angles into two slender square towers, each with two stages, with a smaller belfry stage above of modern construction. The wall below has no feature except a fine projecting porch covering the single entrance and a rose window directly over it. The wall of the façade is continued on the left somewhat beyond the angle of the aisle wall, and is further broadened on the right by an octagonal turret carried up to the beginning of the tower.

The interesting point to be remarked in studying the churches which the Lombards and their immediate successors built in the South is that while in their Northern work the basilican plan and construction gave place in time to a more organic arrangement of parts, partaking in a greater or less degree of the nature of Gothic, in the South no such change took place, but the basilican plan was adhered to; or where departed from can be seen to have been influenced, as in the Cathedral of Molfetta, and the church of SS. Nicolo e Cataldo at Lecce, rather by the Byzantine methods than by those of the Lombards of North Italy, as illustrated by San Ambrogio and

[1] See R. Robert, S. Hildebert at Gournay, Seine Inférieure, and others.

San Michele. The Lombard in the South was far from his centre, from which he was separated not more by distance than by the hostility of the intervening territory. And the more ancient Southern civilization with which he was brought in contact had its own traditions, which, when they were not Roman, were Byzantine, and which were held to, even in decay, with an intelligence and constancy of which the Northern Italians were incapable.[1] It is, then, not surprising that the Lombard influence in art should have been exerted in the South with less vigor and effectiveness than in the North.

It is only fair to say, however, that the materials for arriving at this judgment are scanty, since very few of the churches we see today in South Italy can be assigned, at least in their present form, to a much earlier date than the middle or end of the eleventh century, after which period the Lombard influence was, to a great degree, superseded by the stronger and more unyielding Norman. In the churches which the Norman built, however, we shall generally find the same adherence to the basilican plan and the same inability to impress upon the Italian architecture the character of his own Northern architecture, which we have remarked in the case of the Lombard churches which preceded them.

The Normans in Italy.

Few episodes in history are more stirring and romantic than that of the Norman conquest and occupation of South Italy and Sicily. In 1016, forty Norman knights, returning from Palestine, stopped at Salerno, then in the hands of the Lombard prince, and found the town hotly attacked by a band of Saracens, who were on the point of taking possession of it. The arrival of the Normans was opportune; the despairing Lombards took heart, and the invading Saracens were driven to their boats. The Normans pursued their way to France, where they organized, not long afterward, an expedition, with the object of assisting the Lom-

[1] It deserves, however, to be noted as characteristic of the strength of the Lombard character, that, although the Lombard domination in South Italy was temporary and much restricted, yet such was the force and cogency of the code of laws promulgated by Rotheris, to which I have alluded in an earlier chapter, that as late as the tenth and eleventh centuries it was still the prevailing civil code throughout South Italy, having displaced both the Roman laws of Justinian and the later Byzantine law. Even when, in the tenth century, the Greek language was the only one in use in the Southern provinces, as it continued to be until the twelfth century, the Lombard code was translated into Greek for the use of the courts. See Lenormant, *La Grande Grèce*, for interesting remarks on this subject. "In the Greek diplomas of the tenth and eleventh centuries, drawn up in Apulia and Calabria, first under the Byzantine Emperors, and later under the early Normans, all the legal formulas, all the decisions and precedents cited, all the forms of procedure and of judgments, are those of the Lombard law." Vol. ii., p. 385.

bards of Salerno to maintain their position against the Greeks by whom they were just then surrounded. Other expeditions followed, and the Normans fought, year after year, in South Italy, with varying fortunes. In 1026 they had established themselves in the possession of the castle and territory of Aversa, some twelve miles north of Naples. There, in fulfilment of a vow (after surrounding the city with high walls and towers of defence), they built a church to San Michael, which, with certain features purely Lombard in character, — as the octagonal lantern over the crossing, with its two stages of arcades on columns, the stilted round arches of the side doorway, and the decorated cornices, — has a disposition of parts which recalls the churches of Normandy, particularly the high choir, with its surrounding aisle in groined bays, and its three radial apses. (The latter feature was, however, a later addition.)

Aversa.

These early Norman expeditions were followed in 1040 by a much more important and formidable one, led by three of the twelve sons of Tancred de Hauteville of Normandy, who, coming as pure adventurers, joined forces with the Count of Aversa, and with the Lombard prince of Benevento, with the result that the Greeks were swept out of the province. The new leaders established their seat at Melfi, a hundred miles east of Naples, where the castle which they built still stands on the edge of the cliff overlooking the river, and the cathedral dedicated to the Virgin, in the lower part of the town. It bears an inscription with the date 1055.

Several of the many castles built by the Normans during their occupation of South Italy still remain, in a ruinous condition, but are fast disappearing, their materials generally serving for new constructions of a far different character. At Lago Pesole, Fiorentino, Lucera are interesting remains; but the most important is Castel del Monte, built by Robert Guiscard, and noticed in a later chapter.

Too easy success went far to spoil the Normans. When Robert Guiscard, another of Tancred's sons, arrived in Italy about 1053, they had made themselves so odious[1] that a conspiracy was formed against them, which was supported by Pope Leo IX., who came down upon them with an army of Italians and Germans four times as numerous as that of the Normans. In the battle which followed, the Italians

[1] Their historian, Malaterra, says of them: "The Normans are crafty and vindictive. Eloquence and dissimulation seem hereditary with them. They know how to humble themselves and to flatter; but once free from control, they rush into all sorts of excesses. Greedy of wealth and power, they despise what they have gained, and look forward to what they still covet. They are fond of horses, arms, and the chase, but when the need arises, they can endure with patience all privations and all fatigues."

ran, the Germans were exterminated, and the victorious Normans implored the pardon of the Pope, and were recognized by him, and finally confirmed in the possession of all that portion of South Italy which they had conquered. The following are the interesting remarks of Lenormant on the wise and capable government of the Normans in Italy: "One can hardly admire enough the political genius and the moderate spirit which enabled the sons of Tancred, in the midst of a population composed of the most heterogeneous elements, Lombards, Normans, Italians, Greeks, Arabs, — elements everywhere else bitterly hostile to each other, — to bring them all to live together in peace among themselves and in loyalty to their new masters, whose authority was respected and obeyed by men of every race and of every language and of every religion, — Greek Christians, Latin Christians, Israelites, and Mohammedans. These rude warriors, who had not blushed in the beginning of their career to follow the trade of highwaymen, and were absolutely illiterate, became the enlightened promoters of knowledge and progress, encouraging with enthusiasm at their court, and throughout their territories, letters, arts, and science without regard to differences of race or religion." [1]

Robert fell out with his elder brother, by whom he was held as a prisoner for some years; but on his brother's death in 1067, he resumed his brilliant career, capturing one after another all the places held by Lombards and Greeks, and in 1077 established his capital at Salerno, where he at once set about rebuilding the Lombard cathedral of the ninth century. How much of the older church was retained we have no means of knowing with certainty; the less that the restoration to which the cathedral was subjected in the eighteenth century left it in great measure a modern church, though retaining probably the plan and disposition of parts of the rebuilding of Robert Guiscard.[2] (Fig. 261.) The atrium was his work, — a noble court measuring one hundred and two feet by one hundred and thirteen, with vaulted galleries, with stilted round arches on classic columns, some of which were taken from the neighboring temples of Paestum. The nave is entered through a Lombard doorway, which is probably a portion of the church of the ninth century, with its flanking columns resting on

Salerno Cathedral.

[1] *La Grande Grèce*, ii. 415. See, also, Dantier, *L'Italie*, for a lively account of the Norman occupation and for a description of their works.

[2] The façade still bears his modest inscription, in which he styles himself, "Dux, rex, imperator, maximus triumphator."

lions, and its carved decorations of foliage intermingled with birds and beasts of various sorts. The nave and aisles were separated by lines of nine columns, which in the restoration of 1722 were enclosed in very large square piers.[1] The large transept, projecting slightly beyond the aisle walls, is divided by two broad arches, which continue the lines of the nave arcades into three bays, of which the centre is covered by a dome. Three apses project from the east wall. A crypt extends under the transept and apses, divided into seven short aisles.

It will be seen that here, in their first important church after the establishment of their power, the Normans did not widely depart from the general type of their predecessors, the Lombards. Salerno follows in all its main dispositions, except in the absence of triforium galleries, the great churches of Bari, Bitetto, and Bitonto which I have described above. In their principal features even the later churches of the Normans still adhered to this type. The long columnar arcades, the wooden roofs, the broad and slightly projecting transepts, dominating by their height and importance the rest of the church, the three apses of the east end, are still retained, while of the purely Lombard type of the North, represented by San Ambrogio and San Michele, and later by the cathedrals of Parma, Piacenza, and Modena, with its compound piers, its broad arches, its intermediate columns, and its vaulted bays, there is no example.

Conversano Cathedral.

There are, however, instances in which the builders seem to have had this type in their minds, and to have been more or less influenced by it. At Conversano the interior looks as if the first intention had been to divide the nave by transverse arches into square bays, as in the Northern churches. The nave arches are broad and in two orders, and spring from half columns attached to the square piers, on the face of which, towards the nave, is a broad, flat pilaster running up to the string-course above the arcade, and stopping there. In the North these pilasters would carry transverse arches spanning the nave. The triforium arcade consists of two groups of small arches over each of the lower arches, supported on slender columns and enclosed by a bearing arch. The aisle walls are pierced with arches answering to those of the nave and opening into chapels. All ceilings except that of the apse are flat and of wood. The triumphal arch into the transept is slightly pointed, and it, as well as the inner order of nave arches, is built with voussoirs alternately black and white. The walls of the transept are also striped.

[1] At present there are but six arches on each side.

On the façade, which is divided into three compartments in the Lombard manner by slender pilasters, the arched corbel-table appears on the central gable, but in a peculiar form; the corbels very small and the gable line stepped over each arch.

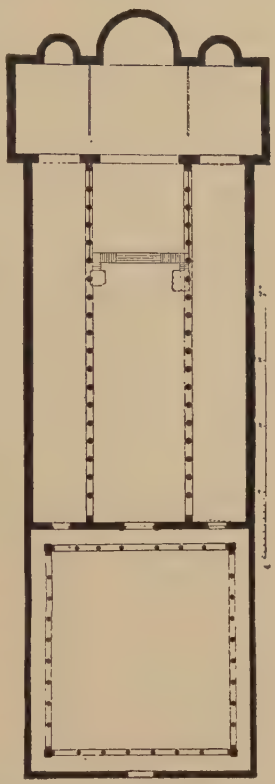

Fig. 261. Salerno Cathedral.

The Normans in South Italy, though lightly bound by the traditions of their Northern architecture, did not entirely forget them, and though no example of a church completely Norman in the Northern sense[1] is to be found in the South, any more than of a church completely Lombard, there are yet instances of the partial employment of both styles. I have already mentioned the cathedral of Aversa, one of the earliest works of the conquering Normans, with its Lombard lantern at the crossing and its high Norman choir, with its surrounding aisle divided into groined bays, from which open three radial apses or chapels. Often a church built during the Lombard domination or by the descendants of the Lombards was taken in hand by the Normans two or three centuries later, and either rebuilt or enlarged with more or less variation from the original forms. At Barletta they found a basilican church, perhaps of the ninth century, with short nave and aisles separated by arcades of four round arches on antique marble columns, with Corinthian capitals, very freely treated, and stilt-blocks. To this, about 1150, the Normans added a fine triforium of coupled arches under bearing arches and a wooden roof. What the eastern portion of the church was then like does not appear, but it was removed, perhaps a hundred years later, and the nave and aisles were prolonged

Barletta, S. M. Maggiore.

[1] I do not mean to imply that the Norman churches of France were always consistent in plan or arrangement. At the beginning of the twelfth century many churches both in the French and Norman provinces and in the southern counties of England, which followed the French example, were built with square east ends and with nave and aisles prolonged beyond the crossing in narrow oblong vaulted bays, — *e. g.*, St. Hildebert at Gournay, Seine Inférieure, and a church at Romsey in Hampshire. See Rup. Robert, pl. liv.

by the addition of four bays, with pointed arches of unequal breadth springing from grouped piers, of which the member next the nave — a flat pilaster — is carried up to take the spring of the groined vault. The aisles are also groined. The apse wall is pierced by five pointed arches carried on columns, and opening into five octagonal chapels covered by octagonal semi-domes, of which the ribs spring from small columns in the angles. Here the whole design is distinctly Northern.[1] The newer church is much ruder than the old, and so much lower that the east gable of the Lombard structure shows entire above the roof of the Norman church. (Fig. 263.)

Acerenza Cathedral.

At Acerenza, the cathedral of S. M. Assunta was similarly treated. Here the old church was of later origin than at Barletta, perhaps as late as 1050; but the disposition was that of a Lombard church, with five arches to the nave arcades, springing from square piers, — the nave high, with no clerestory, and with a wooden ceiling, the aisles divided into square bays by transverse arches, transepts strongly projecting, with small apse in the east wall of each. (Fig. 262.) Beyond the crossing is a choir consisting of a single square groined bay with a round apse. To this was added, probably before the end of the twelfth century,[2] a surrounding aisle divided into groined bays, from three of which project radial apses or chapels. The arrangement is much the same as at Aversa, the two works being closely contemporary. Yet, with this essentially French plan, the choir shows on the exterior the hand of the Lombard architect. The wall is divided by pilaster strips ending in an arched corbel-table, and the details are in accord with this thoroughly Lombard feature. Two slender

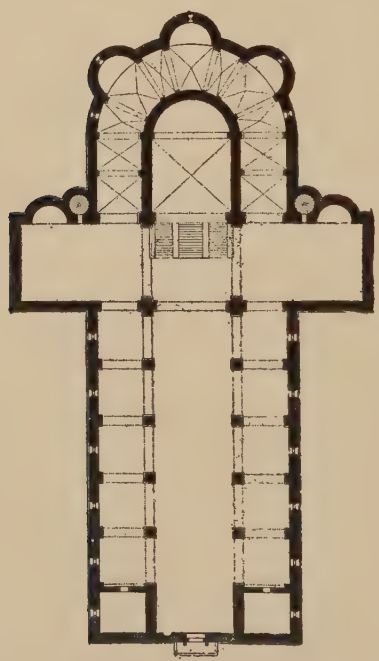

Fig. 262. Acerenza Cathedral.

[1] Mothes, pp. 341, 619; Schulz.

[2] Mothes says begun by Bishop Arnold in 1080. Schulz agrees so far, but believes the church to have been rebuilt two centuries later.

Fig. 263. Barletta. Exterior of Lombard and Norman Church.

turrets in the angles between the transepts and the choir, as well as battlements at the summit of the walls, indicate an attempt to fortify the church.[1] In both these churches it will be observed that the transept, heretofore the most conspicuous portion of the structure, sinks into insignificance beside the fully developed choir.

Venosa Cathedral.

At Venosa the adherence to the French traditions was more thorough. Instead of altering or rebuilding the old basilica[2] of the middle of the twelfth century, they built behind

[1] Mothes, p. 604; Lenormant, in *Gaz. Arch.*, 1883, p. 54; Schulz.

[2] A basilica with a modified plan, the nave being divided by transverse arches, slightly horseshoe in form, into three bays springing from square piers, while in two of the bays the nave arcade has an intermediate pier, so that the aisle bays are doubled in number. The plan so far resembles that of S. Sabina at Canosa. It should be said of these two churches at Venosa that the authorities differ widely as to their builders and dates; Mothes and Schulz maintaining that the older church was of the Norman time, and consecrated by Pope Nicolas II. in 1059, and that the newer church was begun by the Benedictines in the twelfth century, and continued as late as the end of the thirteenth century; while Lenormant (in the *Gazette Archéologique* for 1883) declares that the newer church was begun in 1065 by Robert Guiscard, who brought architects from France for the purpose, and was left unfinished at his death in 1085, when the works had been carried as high as the spring of the vaults. The great soldier was buried here.

it, shortly after the middle of the twelfth century, a new church of the same lateral dimensions, the lines of the aisle walls and of the arcades being continued. (Fig. 264.) But the new church was in plan a well-developed Latin cross, the nave arches pointed, though springing from columns, the nave covered by a wooden ceiling, the aisles in square groined bays, of which that on the northwest corner was closed by the square tower of the older basilica. The long transept is quite undivided, with square ends, a flat apse projecting from the east wall of each. The choir, which has the full width of the nave, consists, as at Acerenza, of a square groined bay with a round apse, the whole being enclosed within a surrounding aisle, in groined bays, with three radial apsidal chapels.[1]

There is this difference in the treatment of the eastern portion of the church between Acerenza and Venosa. In the former the apse wall is solid and without openings into the aisle; the aisle is in bays, alternately larger and smaller, the three external apses opening from the larger bays. At Venosa the apse wall becomes an open arcade, the arches supported on piers, above which broad transverse arches spring across the aisle to the outer wall. There are, therefore, no smaller bays, and the external apses are contiguous. The church appears never to have been completed, and the older basilica, which adjoins it on the west, and whose apse projects into its nave, was left standing during its construction, and still remains to illustrate the contrast between the Lombard and the Norman methods.

The Norman forms did not, however, become naturalized in Italy any more than the Gothic forms a century later. The examples I have adduced are perhaps the only ones to be found of the Northern *chevet;* and it is extremely rare throughout the Southern provinces to find any example of a vaulted nave, in which the vaulting is not a much later addition. At Foggia the cruciform church of Santa Maria, built originally before the coming of the Normans, but rebuilt in great part by them about 1179, is vaulted throughout. The nave and aisles are mostly modern, but the rest of the interior is probably much as the Normans left it. The transepts, which are as broad as the nave and aisles, have each three square bays, the eastern having a flat apse in the east wall, the wall being, however, flat on the exterior; and the great square of the crossing is divided into nine square bays. The eastern arm of the cross is like the two transepts, in three square bays, the east wall being perfectly

Foggia, S. Maria.

[1] Mothes, pp. 268–597; Schulz, i., p. 321, pl. 43; Lenormant in *Gaz. Arch.*, 1883, p. 34.

flat, though the middle bay probably replaced an earlier apse. A most interesting crypt extends under the whole church, divided, as at Trani, by a solid wall with three doors, into two parts, of which one is under the nave and aisles, the other under the transept and choir, with entrances from the two ends of the transept, the whole space being divided into square groined bays, by lines of arches springing from piers with a cruciform plan, except under the crossing, where in place of piers are four Norman columns under those of the upper church.[1]

These examples are, however, but exceptions to the general practice of the Normans in South Italy, which, after all these sporadic attempts at adherence to the methods of Norman France, seems to

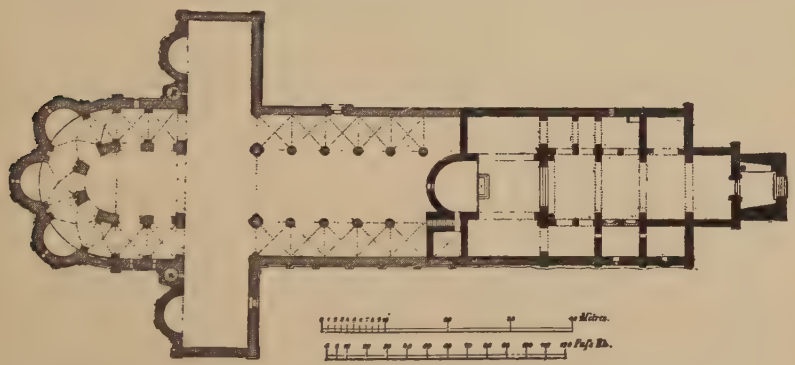

Fig. 264. Venosa. The Two Cathedrals.

have been finally controlled by the strong native traditions of the country. No better example can, perhaps, be cited of the fully developed Norman church of the South than the cathedral of Caserta Vecchia, begun in 1100, but finished half a century later, and which well illustrates the intelligent eclecticism which governed the Normans. Its plan (Fig. 265) is a Latin cross with a length of about one hundred and fifteen feet, its long nave bordered by arcades of ten tall round arches, supported on Corinthian columns of marble, above which is a high clerestory, with small round-headed windows and no triforium. Nave and aisles are covered by a flat wood ceiling. The transepts, which project boldly beyond the aisle walls, are each in a single square bay covered by a groined vault, of which the ribs spring from shafts in the angles of the bay. The apse of the Lombard churches is replaced by a

Caserta Vecchia Cathedral.

[1] Schulz, vol. i., p. 211; Mothes, p. 375.

rectangular tribune with barrel vault. The crossing is covered by a dome supported on four slightly pointed arches, above which the

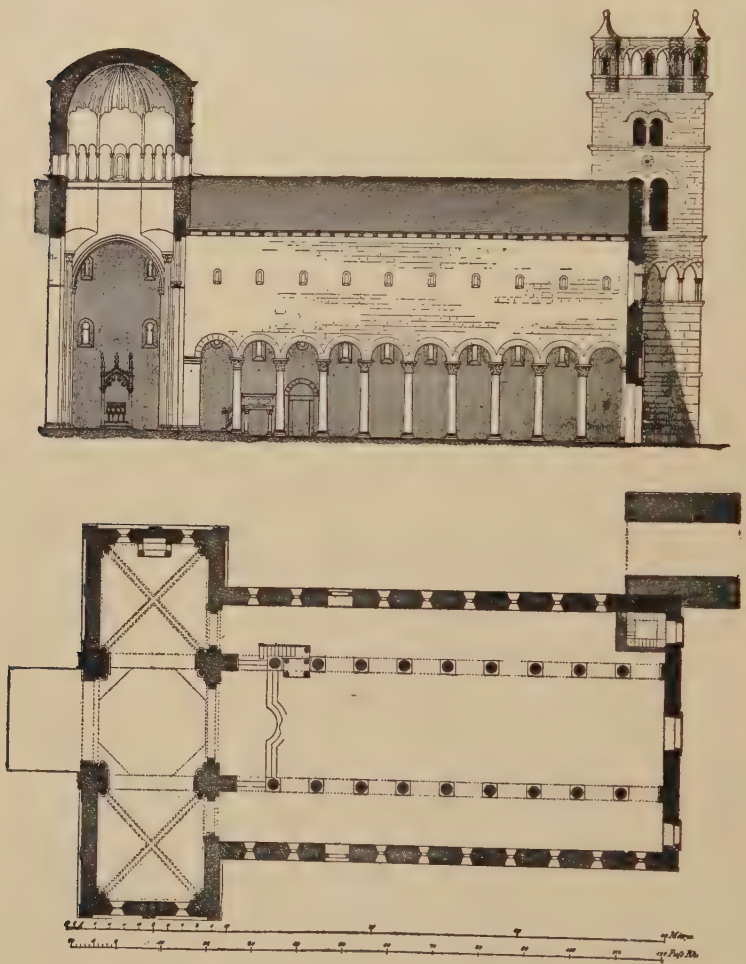

Fig. 265. Caserta Vecchia. Cathedral.

plan is brought to an octagon by concentric arches in the angles. In each side of the octagonal drum are three round arches on slender columns. In each angle of the octagon is a slender shaft, from which a rib springs to the crown of the dome. The dome, indeed, as Mothes remarks, cannot in strictness be called a dome, but rather a groined, octagonal vault, each of whose cells is subdivided by three

ribs springing from the cusps of a segmental arch which spans a side of the octagonal drum. In its general plan and disposition this church closely resembles the earlier churches of Lucca, — San Michele, San Giovanni, Santa Maria fuori, — the one essential point of difference being the square east end.

The exterior of the church is interesting as showing the mingling of the various streams of influence. In the west front, which has an unbroken surface following the interior outline, are three plain doorways, with square openings surmounted by round bearing arches, with decorated archivolt springing from and surmounted by grotesque beasts, which appear also in the side doorways and in many of the windows. Over the central doorway is a single round-headed window, flanked by engaged shafts resting on lion corbels and supporting a simply moulded archivolt. At the base of the gable is a horizontal arched corbel-table which is continued on the cornice of the clerestory and on the transept ends. But above the corbel-table of the façade the gable is faced with a blind arcade of interlacing arches, — a feature which, as at Molfetta and Giovenazzo, where it appears on the east end, on the tower at Gaeta, and in several examples at Ravello, betrays at once the influence of the Saracenic architecture of Sicily, where it is of common occurrence. The massive square tower at the south angle of the façade and the dome over the crossing are both remarkable features of this church. The tower is in five stages, the lowest being pierced by a single great pointed arch, through which a street is carried as at Trani; the second and

Fig. 266. Caserta Vecchia. Transept Ends and Lantern.

fifth are decorated by blind arcades, the upper one being carried around the four angle turrets which enclose the octagonal belfry. The exterior of the dome or lantern is of extreme richness. (Fig. 266.) The wall shows two stages above the roof of the church, both of which are decorated with blind interlacing arcades similar to those of the tower. In the upper stage the wall surface between the columns is a diaper of black and white marble squares, while between the two stages is a frieze of square panels charged with sculpture of more or less grotesque character. Above the cornice only the upper segment of the dome appears. With the lavish ornament of the central lantern, which was probably indeed finished a half century later than the rest of the church, and which speaks in every line of the Norman Sicilian architecture which inspired it, the flanks of the church are in strong contrast, — the only features being a range of small single windows set high in the plain aisle wall, and a similar range in the clerestory, the small and infrequent windows of the transepts, similar in size to those of the aisles, but with horseshoe arched heads, and a blind arcade on the wall of the gables of the transepts.[1]

S. Pietro ad Montes.

The smaller neighboring church of San Pietro ad Montes is closely contemporary with the cathedral, which it follows in all the principal features. The dome is even more fully developed than that of the cathedral; the drum being octagonal below and sixteen-sided above, with a rib springing from each angle to the crown of the vault.[2]

S. Pellino.

The church of San Pellino at Valva, near Chieti, is exactly contemporary with the cathedral of Caserta Vecchia, having been begun in 1104 and finished twenty years later. It stands adjacent to the remains of the older basilica of Valentinian, which had been burned first by the Saracens and again by the Hungarians. I have already mentioned the church of San Pellino as showing in the exterior design of the east end a remarkable adherence to the Lombard forms. In plan and general disposition, as well as in dimensions, it closely resembles the cathedral of Caserta Vecchia, except that it has the Lombard apse instead of the square tribune, and an apse also at either end of the transept.

San Clemente. Casauria.

The same may be said of the remarkable church of San Clemente, belonging to the monastery of Casauria, which was established as early as the ninth century on an island in the river Pescara, not far from Solmona. In the beginning of

[1] Mothes, p. 610; Schulz, ii., p. 182, pl. lxxiii.

[2] Mothes, p. 611.

the eleventh century it shared the common fate of the monasteries, and was sacked and burned by the invading Saracens, but was restored later in the same century. The church is remarkable chiefly for its noble porch, a feature which I have mentioned in a previous chapter as of rare occurrence in the North of Italy, but of which several conspicuous examples still remain in the South. Of these none is finer than the porch of San Clemente. (Fig. 267.) It consists of three grand arches covering the whole breadth of the church and something more; the central arch round, the others slightly pointed, supported on strong piers with jamb-shafts with Byzantine capitals; the archivolts in two orders, and covered, especially those of the middle arch, with carving of moderate richness, but with little or nothing of the Byzantine character. The pier faces carry each an engaged column resting on the back of a grotesque beast, with capitals at the spring of the arches, and continued above to a light and

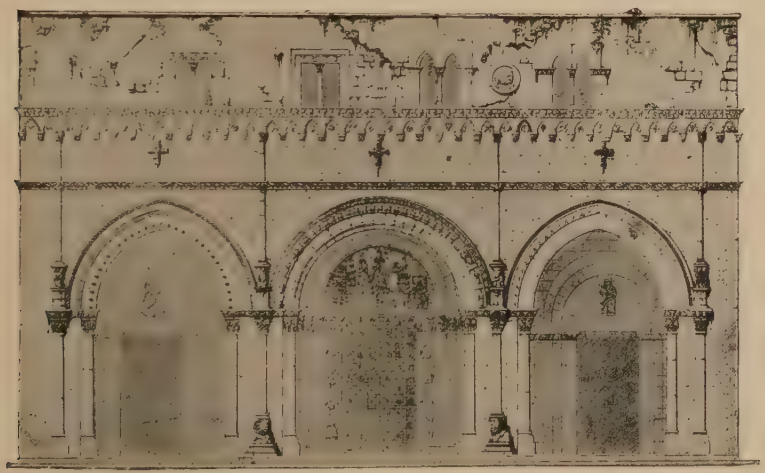

Fig. 267. Casauria. Porch of S. Clemente.

elegant string, which is carried across the front, and still farther to the horizontal arched and decorated corbel-table which makes the cornice of the uncompleted façade. The upper shafts spring from the back of monsters which rest on pedestals supported on the capitals of those below. This vertical division of the façade by engaged shafts is unusual, and with the horizontal treatment of so much as is complete promised a composition of great interest. The three broad arches give entrance to a noble narthex in three square groined bays,

from which three doorways open to the nave and aisles. Of these the central doorway is a most interesting example of Norman Byzantine sculpture. Two piers at the sides carry each two crowned figures of kings in niches. Within these three orders of columns with lively sculpture carry three orders of archivolts, slightly horseshoe in form. The tympanum is filled with reliefs in two ranges.[1]

Amalfi Cathedral.

The cathedral of St. Andrea at Amalfi, built originally in the tenth century, was in great measure rebuilt by the Normans about 1208, with how close adherence to the original design can only be conjectured. But the mingling of styles in its façade is a strong reminder of what we find in the Siculo-Norman churches of the twelfth century, while the magnificent narthex which stretches across the whole of the west front is a feature of which — except in the three central arches, which are like those of the cathedral of Palermo — I know of no prototype. These three central arches are flanked on either side by three broad three-light openings, with interlacing tracery in the arch-heads, and the whole composition is raised on a very high basement, and approached from the piazza by a broad and lofty flight of steps, which gives a strongly individual character to the façade. The plan of the porch shows two transverse aisles separated by a line of pointed arches on fine columns. Similar arches in the opposite direction divide the aisles into square groined bays. Above the great porch the front follows the outline of the interior, with three ranges of interlacing pointed arcades, — the small portions of plain wall being covered with mosaics. The whole façade has thus a character of great richness, variety, and picturesqueness, which is enhanced by the square campanile which rises from its north angle, and is crowned by a round belfry, with dome and four small circular turrets, over the angles of the square, of a character much resembling that of the tower of the Martorana at Palermo. The whole front of the church has been very thoroughly restored since 1875.

West Porches.

Interesting examples of western porches covering the whole breadth of the façade are also to be found in the cathedral of Chieti, at San Liberatore near by, at Sessa, some thirty miles to the north of Naples, and in the church of S. Angelo in Formis at Capua. Of these examples, all of which are closely contemporary, none is on the scale of the grand porch I have just described, and none is comparable to it in grandeur of effect. At Sessa, where the cathedral was rebuilt in 1103, the round and pointed forms are

[1] Schulz, vol. ii., p. 23; Mothes, p. 622.

Fig. 268. Amalfi Cathedral.

mingled as in S. Clemente at Casauria, but the arrangement is reversed, the central arch of the three being here pointed, and the two side arches round. The piers are here very light, their plan being a square of perhaps twenty-four inches, with a slender engaged shaft on each face, three of which carry the arches, and the fourth, on the exterior face, carrying on its capital, as at S. Clemente, a

second shaft, which rises near to but does not reach a light string-course running across the façade. The interior of the porch is in three groined bays.[1]

At S. Liberatore, where the church is some twenty years earlier than the cathedral of Sessa, the plan of the porch is much the same, three arches resting on square piers, but with a flat pilaster on each face instead of a shaft, the three interior bays answering to the width of nave and aisles. The porch is here approached by a flight of steps as broad as the nave.[2]

I have mentioned in a preceding page the three-bayed vaulted porches, very similar in plan, and probably in date, to those here described, which formerly stood on the south flanks of the greater churches of Bari, but which have long since disappeared, as well as the great western porch of the cathedral at Bitonto, which covered the whole breadth of the front.

At the cathedral of Chieti, consecrated 1086, the porch has seven arches, which rest, not on piers, but on columns.

The only existing example of a projecting side porch in South Italy, so far as I know, is that on the transept of S. Sabina, Canosa. What we now see of it is probably a fragment of a porch which covered the whole breadth of the transept, but was broken in upon in 1111 by the mausoleum of Prince Bohemund, the son of Robert Guiscard, who after rebuilding this church had met his death in the East, and was brought back to it for burial. Of the porch two arches only remain. They are of rather clumsy construction and rest on short, heavy columns of violet marble, with large capitals composed of three rows of coarse Byzantine leafage. There is a singular absence of all relation between the porch and the tomb, which forms a square of nineteen feet, the walls faced with a blind arcade of plain round arches on flat pilasters, of which the leafage is of much more delicate character than in the porch. From the roof rises an octagonal lantern with angle shafts and a plain arched window in each face, crowned by a hemispherical dome.[3]

The very interesting church of S. Angelo in Formis goes back to the early Christian centuries, having been, as is believed, constructed by the Ostrogoths out of a temple of Diana, and being thus contemporary with the churches of Theodoric at Ravenna. It was, like so many other churches, taken in hand by the Normans upon the establishment of their power in Southern Italy, about 1075, and partially rebuilt, but still retains the simple basilican plan and much of the

[1] Schulz, ii., 145. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 35. [3] *Ibid.*, i., 59, pl. 5, ix.

external aspect of an early Roman church. Its porch has five pointed arches resting on antique columns of various sizes, with bases and capitals of various form and of rather clumsy proportions. The arches are much stilted, the central arch extravagantly so, its real spring being on a level with the crown of the side arches and its crown cutting up through the horizontal cornice, which runs above the arcade. The depth of the porch is slight; it is covered by groined vaults, except under the central arch, of which the soffit goes back to the wall of the church. On the capitals of the two middle columns are projecting corbels which seem as if intended to carry a shaft, perhaps supporting a gable crowning the arch, as in the central window over the porch at Sessa. The church is of rude masonry, without conspicuous features, and the interior is of simple architecture, with arcades on columns and a flat clerestory wall above. Its

Fig. 269. Amalfi. Interior of Porch.

chief interest lies in the frescoes by Greek artists contemporary with the church, which cover the clerestory, the central apse, and the west

wall of the nave, and even the lunettes of the porch, where are scenes from the life of St. Anthony and St. Paul the hermit.[1]

Trani, Ognissanti.

The most remarkable porch among those of Southern Italy, if we except that at Amalfi, just mentioned, and that which seems most visibly to establish a relationship with the Lombard churches of the North, is, however, that of the small church of Ognissanti, at Trani. The church, which dates originally from the earliest years of the ninth century, but which was more or less completely rebuilt by the Normans about the year 1100, still retains in its east end the Lombard character, having three apses, the central one with the broad window flanked by columns bearing grotesque beasts, which is so characteristic of the older churches of this region, as in Bari, Molfetta, Troja, etc. The church is a small basilica, of simple plan, about forty feet wide and forty-seven feet long, without transept, with nave and aisles separated by arcades of four arches on columns, and each terminating in a round apse. (Fig. 270.) The nave, formerly covered with a flat wooden ceiling, has now a barrel vault; the aisles are in square groined bays, divided by transverse arches which, on the wall side, spring from engaged three-quarter shafts, answering to the nave columns. This vaulting is certainly the work of the Normans, as is probably also the noble porch which covers the whole breadth of the west front. This porch resembles that at Amalfi in having a depth of two bays. The sides are closed by solid walls. The front is of three stilted round arches supported on granite columns, with composite capitals. These are repeated by two similar columns in the interior of the porch, which, with the arches springing in four directions from their capitals, divide the porch into six bays covered by groined vaulting.[2]

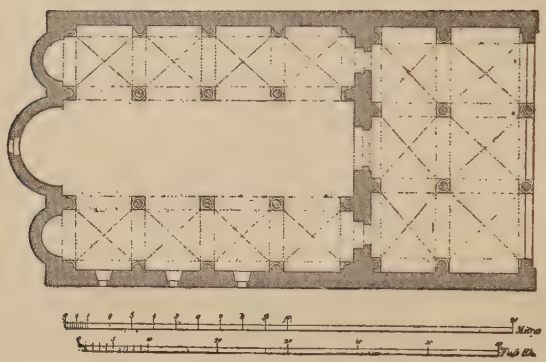

Fig. 270. Trani. Ognissanti.

[1] Schulz, pl. 70; Mothes, p. 601.

[2] Schulz, vol. i., p. 127, pl. xxvi.; Mothes, pp. 320, 609. The usual controversy has arisen concerning the age of this interesting porch, as over the similar porches of

While, however, the great porches, extending across the whole front of the church, are, in the South as in the North, exceptional, the characteristic treatment of the principal doorways is one which distinguishes the mediæval churches of South Italy, whether of the Lombard or the Norman age, from all others of any age or region. The distinction is not so much in the general forms of the composition, which are not essentially different from those of the Lombard porches of the North. Like those, the

Doorway Porches.

Fig. 271. Ognissanti. Section of Porch.

Southern porches are flanked by columns, generally one on either side the doorway, but sometimes two or more, as at Altamura, Conversano, S. Andrea at Barletta, and others, which commonly rest on grotesque beasts or birds, and which carry the outer arch or arches of the door-head, surmounted by a gable, though this feature is often wanting. Inside these columns are the square door-jambs, in one,

S. Abbondio at Como, and the Badia of Sesto Calende in the North; Mothes believing the whole church, including the porch, to belong to the original construction of 802–824, while Schulz declares the whole to be an example of the best and finest period of the Normans. The point is difficult and perhaps impossible to decide; but as neither Mothes nor Boito assigns an earlier date than late in the eleventh century to the porches of Como and Sesto Calende, and as the porches of France which are most nearly related to these are not very remote from them in date (S. Philebert, Tournus, 1020, Cluny, 1100, Vezelay, 1120, Chatel-Montagne, 1130), it is not unreasonable to presume that the porch of Ognissanti, like most or all the others we have been considering, was the work of the Normans, not far from the beginning of the twelfth century.

two, or three orders, the inner ones carrying a heavy square lintel, over which is a solid tympanum, enclosed within the one or more archivolts which spring from the jambs and shafts. So far, the description applies to many doorways in the North of Italy and France.

Fig. 272. Doorway at Terlizzi.

Their decoration.

The feature in which the Southern porches are distinguished from all others is their decoration, which presents an extraordinary and most interesting mixture of styles, — Lombard, Byzantine, Norman, Saracenic, — sometimes all united in a single doorway, and which illustrates in a striking manner the mixture of races and civilizations which had been brought together in that region. The tympanum of the arch is rarely without a group of figures in high relief, most often representing Christ or the Virgin enthroned, and surrounded by adoring angels or saints, as in the cathedrals of Altamura, Conversano, and Bitetto; the last mentioned a singularly beautiful example. The face of the broad lintel which covers the opening bears commonly a continuous series of figures, as at Bitetto (Fig. 273), where the figure of Christ occupies the centre, with the disciples on either hand; or a procession of saints, as at Bitonto; or the Last Supper, as at Altamura; or a succession of niches enclosing saints, as in the

much ruined doorway of Rutigliano. But sometimes this continuity is neglected, as in the church "del Rosario" at Terlizzi (Fig. 272), where the principal subject is the arrival of the three wise men at the stable, the Virgin lying on a couch, with the infant Christ in a

Fig. 273. Bitetto. Central Doorway of Façade.

manger above, while on one side of this group Christ is extended on the cross, and on the other side is what appears to be an Annunciation, in which the figures are quite out of scale with the others.[1]

The flat faces of the piers which form the jambs of the doorway, frequently repeated in several orders, are generally examples of Byzantine floral decoration, with a meandering vine wreathing itself into infinitely varied geometrical figures, circles, ovals, squares, or lozenges, charged with figures of beasts and birds, with foliage, flowers, and fruit. In the more striking examples, the broad surface is divided into distinct squares, each with a group of figures in high relief, often of extreme delicacy and beauty, as in the outer piers of the central doorway of the cathedral of Bitetto; and notably at Altamura (Fig. 274), where the lowest compartment on either side is a decorated niche (one with a cusped and pointed arch), within which on one side is the angel of the Annunciation, and on the other, the Virgin, sitting with hands folded over her breast. Over these is a series of compartments of varying shapes and sizes, filled with the most varied and interesting scenes in the life of Christ, in which the execution is delicate and sharp like that of an ivory carving.

The treatment of the archivolts is generally of a different character from that of the vertical members of the composition. The outer band is often a quarter hollow set with a continuous series of upright acanthus leaves treated in the sharp crisp Byzantine manner, as in the central doorway of Bitonto and that of Conversano. At Bitetto this treatment is transferred to the central band. In one of the lateral doorways of San Nicola at Bari the leaves are each enclosed in an arched moulding or band.

The most fertile invention and the most charming and delicate fancy are shown in the treatment of the various archivolts. At Conversano, the outline of the middle archivolt is nearly that of the shaft below it, and it starts on either side from a moulded base like that of a column, but the substance of the archivolt is cut away so as to leave a series of oval panels, each containing an admirably spirited figure in full relief, either bird, or animal, or child. The sculpture has remained in perfect condition. Within this is the innermost band enclosing the arch-head, of which each voussoir bears a head surrounded by a narrow band of leafage, the background

Conversano.

[1] This doorway, attributed to Anselmo di Trani, is a remarkable composition, with two orders of pointed arches, the extrados in each much raised, and both covered with Byzantine reliefs of the same design, which is very unusual.

Fig. 274. Altamura. Central Doorway.

being so deeply undercut as to leave the head in full relief. In this same doorway the treatment of the flanking shafts is most interesting; the two on each side being sharply contrasted. The inner capitals are of concave form, spreading boldly with luxuriant leafage to a square abacus, while those of the outer columns are block

capitals of the simplest outline, covered with thin intricate foliage very deeply undercut. All are strongly Byzantine in character.

Matera.

The central doorway of the cathedral of Matera (Fig. 275), though much simpler in decoration than those heretofore cited, has two bands of decoration of very marked character, and strongly contrasted; the outer band of strong close basket work, the inner with a meandering stem with a vigorous leaf twisted into each circle.

S. Nicola, Bari.

The Lombard fancy is seldom entirely wanting in all this profusion of ornament. In San Nicola, at Bari, the lateral door, cited above, has within its flanking columns a single jamb pilaster-face covered with a delicate Byzantine vine springing out of a vase on each side, and treated with beautiful play and movement. The square lintel is decorated in much the same way, but the band which continues around the arch-head carries a procession of galloping horsemen with lances, met by foot-soldiers in armor, with swords and shields, of thoroughly Lombard character, while the flanking columns carry on their capitals two grotesque figures which might have been set in the façade of San Michele at Pavia.

As in the Lombard porches of the North, the columns, where there is but one on each side, rest almost always on monsters, either beasts or birds; but very commonly these monsters themselves rest, not on the ground, but on massive corbels or pedestals raised some two or three feet above it. At Altamura the beasts are fierce lions holding down with one paw a smaller beast. When the columns are repeated on each side the outer ones alone rest on beasts, the inner on pedestals, the base of the columns being above or below those of the outer columns, as the case may be, but rarely on a level with them. In the principal doorway of S. Nicola at Bari, the columns are octagonal, and the door opening is a round arch (a very unusual instance), around which the square jamb pier is carried without interruption, the face and soffit covered with sculpture.

The prodigality of the figure sculpture in these doorways is amazing. The door at Altamura is one of the most striking and beautiful examples of this richness; but the rule is that the capitals of the flanking columns bear grotesque figures either animal or human, from which the archivolt springs, while frequently the crown of the arch, as at Bitonto, or the apex of the gable, as at Altamura, is surmounted with an eagle or a human statue, which completes the whole composition.

At Barletta the church of S. Andrea preserves the remains of a

central doorway of great richness and beauty, in which the outer pilasters enclosed three orders of jamb shafts, which with their capitals have disappeared, but their bases and pedestals remain. The outer pilasters, like the square jambs of the doorway, are beautifully decorated with the meandering vine, enclosing foliage, animals, and fruit. The face of the square lintel is similarly decorated. The inner face of the jambs has a beautiful full-length low relief of a saint, with Byzantine decoration above and below the figure. The round-arched tympanum is filled with five standing and kneeling figures under the arches of a rich arcade; the central figure being that of Christ with the Virgin and St. John on either side, and two angels in the outer arches. The whole upper portion of the porch is gone. An inscription shows the sculpture to have been, in part at least, the work of Simeon of Ragusa, who lived at the beginning of the tenth century, but it is not conceivable that a porch of so highly developed a design was built at so early a date. The projection of the outer pilasters from the wall makes it probable that the porch was rebuilt at least two centuries later, and the sculpture of the tympanum, and possibly that of the lintel, were preserved.

Barletta.

In the cathedral at Barletta the central doorway has been entirely replaced by a bald, Renaissance composition. But the lateral door-

Fig. 275. Matera. Bands of Doorway.

ways of the façade have a broad band of beautiful and intricate Byzantine sculpture springing from corbels in the form of beasts, and enclosing the arch-head. Many detached pieces of sculpture are scattered over the façade, for the most part more Lombard than Byzantine in character. A beautiful little niche is set at the spring of the aisle gable on the left, in which colonnettes support a round arch enclosing a sitting figure.

Fig. 276. Trani. Doorway.

I have already spoken of the doorway of the cathedral of Benevento as an example of the Pisan influence in the South. But if it be compared with the doorway of the cathedral or of the baptistery at Pisa, the difference in character is striking. The Byzantine vine wreathes itself into a succession of irregular circles, each enclosing a beast or bird in vigorous action, as in the Lombard work of the North, while at the base of each jamb pilaster is a pair of seated figures, of which the subject and action are hard to determine. The outer archivolt of the central door at the cathedral of Trani is of precisely similar character.

Benevento.

At Ruvo the central doorway is of remarkable character. (Fig. 277.) The beasts, both below and above the flanking columns, are quite unlike any others I know, having more the aspect of seals than of any land animal real or fictitious. The upper ones are of monstrous size.

Ruvo.

The flanking columns, so commonly applied to doors and windows,

may have had a symbolical significance, as in many cases they stand alone without supporting anything of a constructional nature, as in the window in the west front of Trani. This is more often the case with the columns of windows than with those of doors. But in S. Giacomo at Trani the doorway is a simple round-arched opening, enclosed in a broad plain band, with a narrower enriched band outside of it, and flanked on either side by a column which stands on

Fig. 277. Ruvo. Central Doorway.

a grotesque beast, which in its turn stands on a corbel three feet above the ground, — the column carrying on its capital only another beast. The wheel windows in the west fronts are often flanked in the same way, with sometimes an outer archivolt springing from the columns, as at Matera, Bitetto, and Bitonto, but oftener supporting only a grotesque figure.

Window decoration.

The treatment of the great doorways is sometimes paralleled in the principal windows; particularly those of the central apses. Of these the cathedral of Bari furnishes the most notable example. (Fig. 278.) The arch is enclosed in two bands of sculpture, and flanked by an octagonal column on either side, standing quite free of the wall, its base resting on the back of an elephant, which in its turn stands on a boldly projecting double corbel, richly carved. The capital of the column is large and spreading, and carries a sphinx, from whose back springs a third archivolt, also enriched with sculpture. It is interesting to see how the character of the decoration varies in the several members. That of the inner band consists entirely of foliage, comparatively simple in design; that of the second band is an intricate intermingling of meandering foliage with figures of knights and animals, strongly Lombard in feeling; while the outer archivolt has again only leafage, but of a character quite distinct from that of the inner band, being somewhat heavy and coarse in design and execution. The crown of the arch is surmounted by the figure of an eagle or griffin, of which only a part remains. The sphinxes and elephants point to a new influence in Italian decoration; no earlier instance can, so far as I know, be found of their use in the architecture of Western Europe.[1] Under the carved sill of the window, and enclosed between the corbels on either side, is a beautiful rectangular panel, with the Byzantine peacocks in the midst of flowing, graceful leafage.

The apse of Bitonto cathedral has a window extremely similar to that of Bari, but somewhat ruder in design; and interesting examples of this feature may be seen at Molfetta, Giovinazzo, San Nicola at Bari, and in the three eastern apses at Trani. A remarkable instance of this form of window employed, not in the apse, but in the west front, is seen in the cathedral of Sessa, where the three doorways of the façade being covered by the great porch, the decoration usually given to the central doorway is trans-

Sessa.

[1] The elephant appears also in the apse of Trani, in the cloisters of Benevento, and in the façade of Altamura, high up in the wall, carrying a short shaft which bears what seems a sheep.

ferred to a broad arched window directly above it, in which the arch is surrounded by a decorated archivolt, and flanked by slender columns resting on crouching beasts of great size, and supporting other beasts, from which spring the cornices of the gable which surmounts the arch.

Fig. 278. Bari. Apse Window in Cathedral.

A very remarkable piece of decoration is seen in this church, in the central arch of the great western porch. The arch is enclosed between two pairs of superposed columns, of which the lower columns rest on the capitals of the great piers of the arcade, and carry on their capitals grotesque beasts, upon which rest the smaller upper columns, which also are surmounted by beasts. The arch-head is enclosed within a broad smooth band of marble, quite without decoration, outside of which is a sculptured archivolt which springs from two corbels bearing groups of figures on their faces. The archivolt is divided by small pilasters into compartments which make the voussoirs of the arch, and which are filled with groups of delicate figure sculpture illustrating scenes in the life of St. Peter.

The sculptural decoration of windows is, however, by no means confined to the most important windows. Those of smaller size and in less prominent positions are frequently decorated with much richness and with a peculiar disposition of the ornament. In the cathedral of Barletta, the single windows of the aisles consist of a narrow and high round-arched opening, surrounded by a curious ornament,

like a series of bobbins connected by a cord. The arch-head is filled with a slab of pierced marble with a geometrical pattern (a distinctly Arabic feature), while at the foot beneath the sill is a horizontal panel with sculpture of as distinctly Lombard character. (Fig. 279.)

In San Gregorio at Bari the side windows are similar in form to those last mentioned, and are surrounded by a similar ornament; but there is no panel under the sill, and the arch-heads are filled with a slab bearing reliefs.

It will be observed that in the decoration we have been considering, as in the contemporary or earlier work of the Lombard Romanesque, the Byzantine and the Lombard worked side by side, and that in many, if not in most, of the great external features of the Southern churches, — the porches, the doorways, the great windows — the two influences are unmistakably present. But the relation of the two is quite reversed. While at Pavia and Milan and Verona the Byzantine comes in only here and there, as a refining and softening influence, at Bari and Bitonto and Salerno he is visibly the master; and it is the Lombard who is the intruder, and whose work strikes in among the delicate fancies of the Byzantine as the rough notes of the warlike clarion might break in upon a pastoral symphony. Even where it does appear its character is noticeably modified and shorn of much of its wild and ferocious quality.

For though the Byzantine artists held their unique position in all parts of Italy for seven hundred years; though we see their hand in the basilicas of Rome and of Ravenna in the sixth century, while in the Lombard churches, north and south, in the Tuscan churches of Central Italy, in St. Mark's at Venice, the best and richest of the ornament, of sculpture, of painting, of mosaic, is from their hand; yet it was in the Southern provinces that they found their permanent abiding place and the most ample field for their labors. Here it was that through centuries of decay and barbarism, of aimless and desolating war, of repeated invasion, of changing masters, they kept alive, though with long periods of decline and eclipse, that clear Hellenic spirit — the splendid inheritance of better days — which, cherished and saved from extinction by the numerous Greek monasteries of Apulia and Calabria,[1] was able to impart the one touch of grace and beauty to the sombre and clumsy architecture of those dark centuries. The extraordinary vitality and conservatism of the school of ornament established by the Byzantines is best illustrated

[1] Most of the Byzantine artists were monks.

by the fact that, through all this period and throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula, the character of their ornament, of whatever kind, remained essentially the same. The strong yet florid capitals, with their flowing sharp-cut leafage, the majestic peacocks and eagles, the meandering vine, wreathing itself into a succession of circles or ovals, each enclosing its bird or animal or group, — these are the same in the sixth century as in the twelfth, — the same in San Vitale or San Michele as in Bari or Conversano or Altamura; while the same spirit and feeling mark, through the varying grades of execution, the earliest mosaics of Ravenna or Christian Rome and the latest of Palermo and Venice.

Fig. 279. Barletta. Window in Aisle.

I have endeavored to give, as briefly as possible, some notion of the exterior sculptural ornament of the churches of Southern Italy during the periods of the Lombard and Norman occupation of the country, and have tried to show how the two streams of influence from the invading Northerner and the abiding Byzantine were mingled in that ornament. In the interior of these churches, as in the Lombard churches of the North of Italy, little of sculptural decoration is to be found — less, indeed, in the South than in the North, since the capitals are to a great extent either taken from the ruins of classic buildings, or, where original, follow more or less closely the classic models. But the Greek artists found an ample and congenial field for their art in the various furniture of the churches, — notably the pulpits, the episcopal chairs, the ciboriums, and the cancella or fences of the

choir. In these there is seldom any considerable admixture of the Lombard feeling, except that the chairs, as well as the columns which support the pulpits, often rest on lions or other beasts, generally of a much less grotesque type than in purely Lombard work.

An exception to this rule is to be noted in the fragments which remain of the choir-stalls of the cathedral at Molfetta. The wood carving with which they are adorned is full of the wild Northern fury, untouched by Byzantine influence. Beasts are fighting; a horseman with his mantle floating out behind him is trampling a dragon under his horse's hoofs, and driving a spear down his throat; a griffin grasps a serpent with claws and teeth, while the serpent twists his head round and bites the griffin on the forehead; above all this is a winged angel, and the winged bull with book. The whole is rude and gross, but full of power. (Fig. 280.)

Fig. 280. Molfetta. Choir-stalls.

Pulpits: In the pulpits and the chairs there is almost always a mingling of sculpture and mosaic, the latter commonly in purely geometrical designs and executed in that style known as opus tesselatum, and of the character best illustrated in the work of the Cosmati, to whom indeed much

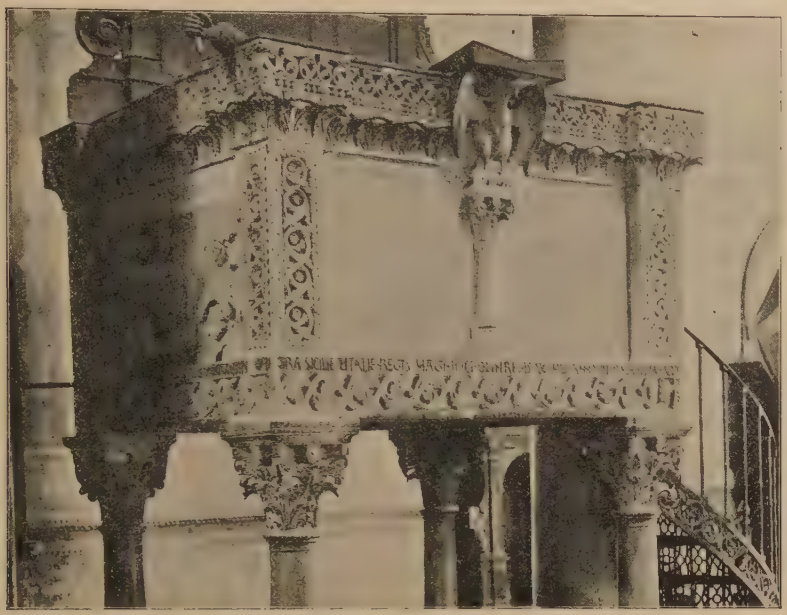

Fig. 281. Troja. Pulpit in Cathedral.

of this decoration in the Southern churches has been ascribed. In the general form of the pulpits there is little variation from the type with which we are familiar in the churches of the North. They consist almost invariably of three low walls, forming three sides of a square or oblong enclosure, reached by a flight of stairs and supported by four or more columns, sometimes resting on lions or other beasts, sometimes on a low platform, sometimes connected by round arches, but oftener carrying the pulpit directly on their capitals.

The beautiful pulpit of the cathedral of Troja is one of the earliest of its class, dating from 1169. (Fig. 281.) It rests on four fine columns, with large spreading capitals of the Byzantine acanthus; the faces above divided into panels enclosed in broad bands or borders, ornamented with a meandering vine. On the front face the panel is plain, with a slender column in the centre supporting the eagle which holds up the reading-desk. The side panels are filled with reliefs, and the whole is crowned with a rich cornice. of Troja;

The pulpit in the cathedral of Sessa (Fig. 282), less simple than that of Troja, stands on six short columns, which rest on standing lions much too small for them, — the bases projecting on either side

of the animals' backs. The capitals are of exaggerated size, with two ranges of acanthus leaves, with a florid standing figure in the centre of one face, and in the place of volutes, birds and animals. The columns are joined by segmental arches, two on the longer side and one on each end; the spandrils filled with figures of saints and prophets, some on a ground of mosaic; and at the angles, standing figures. The faces of the pulpit above are divided by slender columns into panels filled with mosaic and marble inlay. Near the pulpit stands a paschal candlestick of great beauty, about eleven feet high, on a circular base or plinth, ornamented with standing figures between foliage. The shaft is of delicate mosaic in spirals, interrupted by two bands of sculpture divided by coupled colonnettes into compartments enclosing figures of popes and saints.

of Sessa;

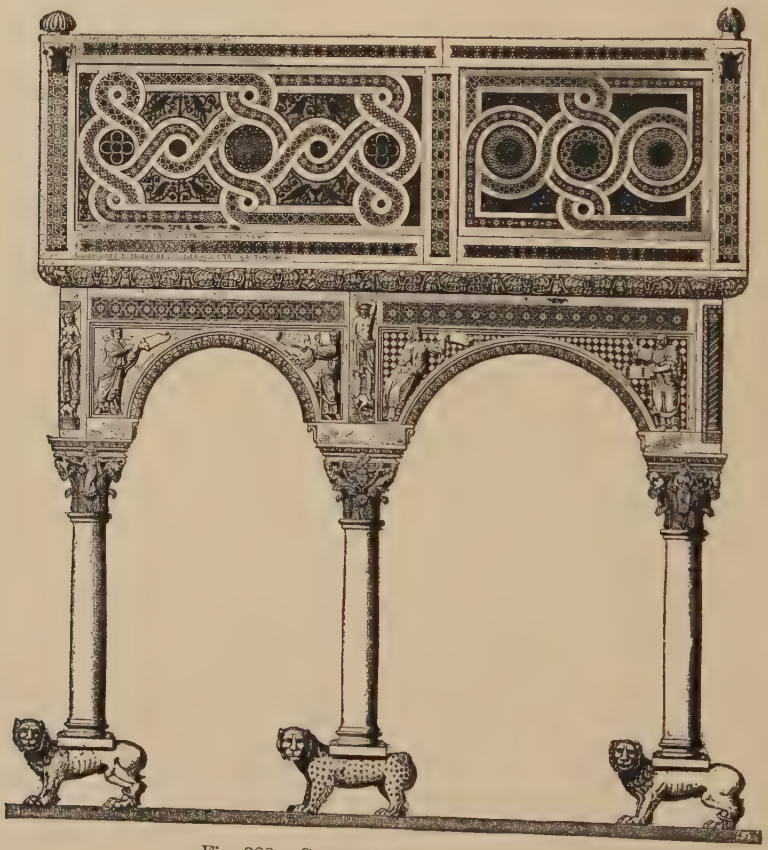

Fig. 282. Sessa. Pulpit in Cathedral.

This interesting work is contemporary with the pulpit, both dating, according to an inscription, from 1260.[1]

One of the most richly adorned pulpits is that of the cathedral of Ravello. (Fig. 283.) It is nearly contemporary with the last mentioned, though somewhat later. Six lions support twisted columns with a fine mosaic in the spirals and rich foliaged capitals. The angles of the pulpit above have shafts similar to those of the supporting columns, but smaller, with a very rich

of Ravello Cathedral;

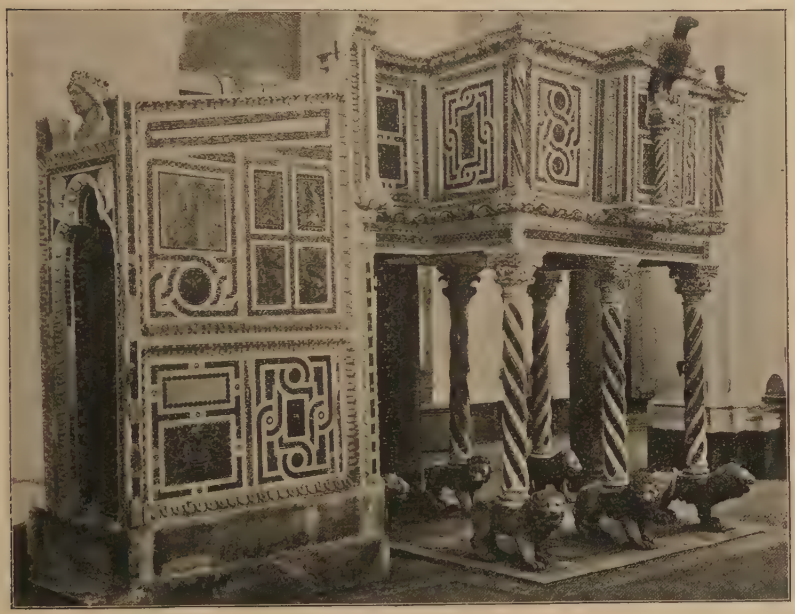

Fig. 283. Ravello. Pulpit in Cathedral.

cornice of taller coarse leafage. The panels are filled with mosaic relieved on a ground of white marble, giving a remarkable brightness and clearness of effect, and the geometrical pattern is enriched by varied pictorial representations, as of parrots in the midst of foliage, red lions and nondescript beasts on a gold ground, green and blue dragons, eagles with spread wings, etc., with heraldic devices. The stair is entered under a cusped arch, and has an enclosing wall, with mosaics in the panels. This church is rich in mosaics; the bishop's throne stands on a platform, of which the risers and the flanking fence are adorned with mosaics of the same character with

[1] Schulz, vol. ii., p. 149, pls. 65–68.

that of the pulpit. The panels of the fence enclose figures, of which one is a great winged monster with a serpent's tail.[1] The ambon which stands opposite the pulpit is of an unusually extensive design, and its decoration consists, in the triangular panels of two representations of Jonah and the whale in glass mosaic, and in the panels below of a fine inlay of porphyry, giallo antico, serpentine, and white enamel.

of San Giovanni, Ravello;

The obscure little church of San Giovanni at Ravello has a pulpit which is perhaps even more remarkable than that of the cathedral. Here the columns, four in number, and standing directly on the floor, are more elegant in proportion and with capitals of various design, of which three are of classic character, presumably antique, while the fourth is Byzantine, though not of the best type. The columns are joined by round arches, rather less than a semicircle, surrounded by a narrow band of mosaic, the spandrils filled each by a Byzantine peacock. The faces of the pulpit above are in panels enclosing geometrical mosaics of much elegance. The reading-desk rests on a narrow octagonal projection from one side next the nave, on the face of which a figure in full relief, its feet resting on two heads over the back of an apocalyptic beast, holds aloft an open book, on which perches an eagle which supports the desk. The wall of the stair by which the pulpit is reached is decorated with mosaics and a single great fresco.[2]

In some cases there are two pulpits, either side by side, or on opposite sides of the choir, one for the reading of the Epistles, the other for the reading of the Gospels. This was a common arrangement in the Roman basilicas, and examples of it in South Italy are to be seen at Benevento and Salerno. In the former case, the two pulpits, similar in size and design, though varying in detail, are carried on columns of rich marble and porphyry, standing on lions and other beasts, the shafts covered with interlacing and zigzag patterns, the capitals of various form and decoration, with foliage and figures intermingled; the lintel has a band of mosaic, and the faces above it are divided into panels, separated, and flanked by standing figures of saints and angels.[3]

of Salerno;

At Salerno, the group of pulpits and supplementary structures is one of the most extensive and elaborate to be found in any church in Italy. The two pulpits are very different both in size and design. That on the north side of the church is a square

[1] Schulz, vol. ii., p. 271; Chapuy, *Moyen Age Pittoresque.*
[2] Schulz, vol. ii., p. 274; Moscione, phot.
[3] Schulz, vol. ii., p. 323, pl. 81.

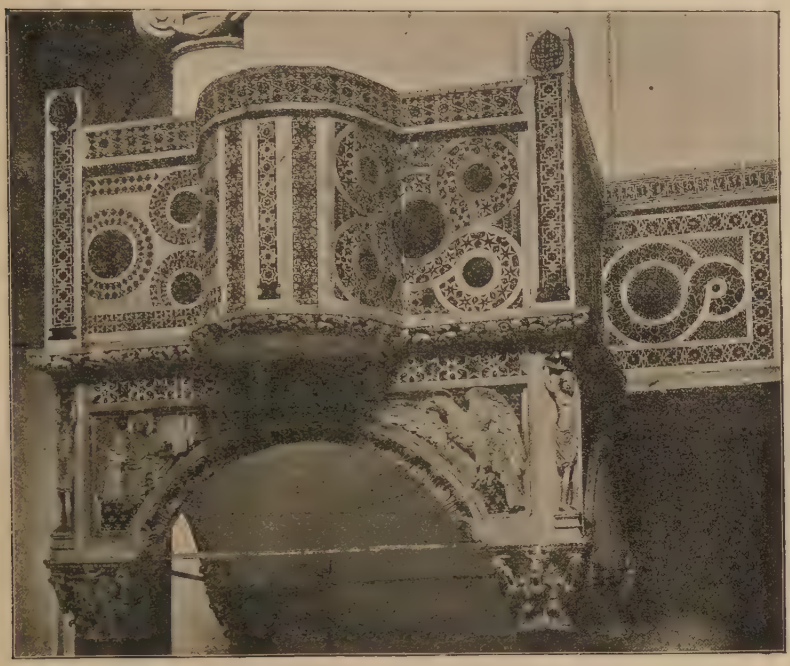

Fig. 284. Salerno. Pulpit in Cathedral.

of seven feet supported on four granite columns with lovely marble capitals carrying segmental arches of marble, of which the spandrils are filled with beautiful figures in relief, — angels, eagles, etc., on a ground of mosaic, while the angles have standing figures with raised arms appearing to uphold the angles of the richly carved cornice. (Fig. 284.) The principal face is broken in the centre by a polygonal projection, in which stood the reader, and the whole surface of the pulpit, on three sides, is covered with a beautiful geometrical mosaic. The other pulpit is much larger, — so much so, indeed, as to be now used as a choir gallery. It is about thirteen by eighteen feet in plan, supported on twelve columns without arches, and the faces above are panelled and decorated in the same style as in the smaller pulpit. The date of these fine ambones is given by an inscription as between 1160 and 1169.[1] The stairs by which they are reached are detached from the pulpits themselves, enclosed within marble walls decorated with mosaics, and connected with the pulpits by short galleries or bridges of the same character.

[1] Schulz, vol. ii., p. 288.

Bitonto is another instance where two ambones are set over against each other. Of these, one is remarkable as a departure from the usual method of decoration. It projects from the wall of the choir, and its front is supported on two tall columns with Corinthian capitals freely treated, over which two rather rude entablatures run back to the wall. The front face of the pulpit has a large semicircular bay, divided into small square panels, deeply moulded, with rosettes. In its centre, a rude sitting figure upholds with arms raised above his head a great eagle much larger than himself, which, in its turn, supports the reading-desk. At each side of the bay is a single narrow and high panel filled with an interlacing pattern in relief. The face is flanked by angle shafts, and crowned by a richly carved cornice.

of Bitonto;

In San Sabino at Canosa there is a pulpit of extreme elegance, in which the decoration shows no trace of Lombard feeling, and very little of the Byzantine. (Fig. 285.) Four octagonal shafts, with capitals rigidly compressed, with close and rather formal leafage of a modified Byzantine type, are connected by four round arches, enclosed by two narrow bands of delicate mosaic; the spandrils have a little foliage in a mosaic border, and a moulded, almost classic cornice, enriched in a similar manner with mosaic. The faces are plain, except the front, which has an octagonal projection in the centre, with an eagle holding the desk. The panels are enclosed between corner posts, which, like the upper rail, are enriched by a small pattern of mosaic, while the lower border has a purely Greek honeysuckle ornament.[1] The mosaic, by the elegance of its design and the delicacy of its execution, leads one to suspect it to be the work of the Cosmati, with whom the pulpit is contemporary. If that be the case, it is a rare example in the South, their work having been, in great part, confined to Rome and its near neighborhood, — Subiaco, Anagni, Cività-Castellana, etc.[2]

of S. Sabino. Canosa.

Fig. 285. Pulpit in S. Sabino.

[1] Schulz, pl. ix.

[2] The best account of this remarkable family, whose genius was handed down through four generations, is to be found in the essay of Sig. Boito, *Architettura del Medio Evo in Italia*, pp. 117–182, where a list of their principal works is also given.

In the episcopal chairs or thrones we shall observe a very similar style of decoration to that which marks the pulpits. But in general the ornament is of greater delicacy, the field being more restricted. Those of San Nicola at Bari and San Sabino at Canosa may be cited as characteristic examples. (Fig. 286.) In the former, the chair, which is on a broad step running around the wall of the apse, stands upon a low

Bishops' chairs:

at Bari;

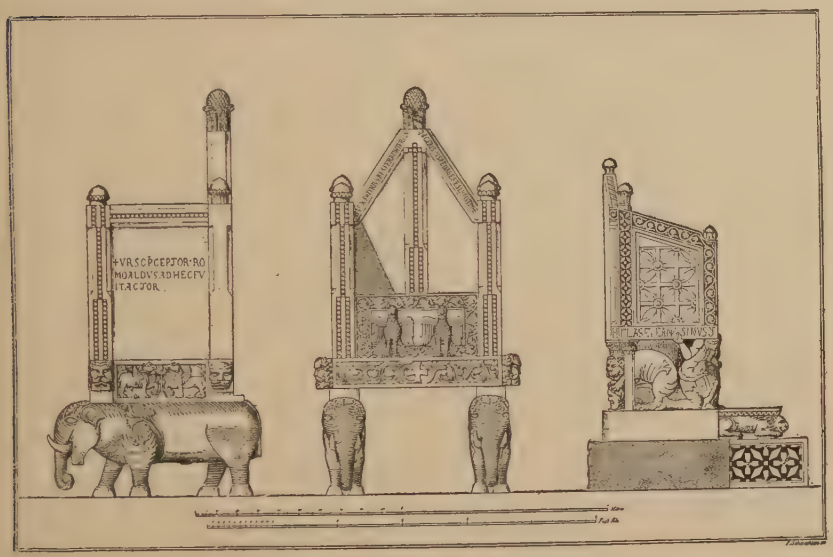

Fig. 286. Chairs of S. Sabino, Canosa, and S. Nicola, Bari.

platform, of which the front rests on two crouching beasts. Three strange human figures distinctly Lombard in character uphold the front of the chair on their shoulders, the rear portion being supported by two octagonal columns, between which is a lion holding down a prostrate human figure. The chair itself is extremely rich. The plates of marble which form the sides are decorated with a Saracenic pattern, set in a frame of Byzantine inlay. The front of the slab which forms the seat is divided into square panels, enclosing reliefs of various beasts. The back of the chair is plain, and finishes with a low gable.

At Canosa, the chair is supported by two massive elephants. Its sides are simple panels with inscriptions, in a strong, simple frame of posts and rails; the back is a high gable with heavy finial. The face of the seat is a rich panel with two

at Canosa;

Byzantine peacocks side by side, with spread wings, enclosed by a broad border with a meandering vine. Below the panels on front and sides is a broad base-course, enriched on the front by a Greek cross in the midst of Byzantine leafage, and on the sides by griffins.

at Monte S. Angelo.

In the singular grotto church of Monte Sant' Angelo is a fine chair, standing on a low platform, and upheld by two couchant lions. The seat is a slab, of which the faces are divided into square panels with rosettes, and crowned by a classic cornice. The posts are decorated with a small mosaic, and finished with finials. The sides are each in a single square panel with figure subjects in relief, St. George and the Dragon, and others. The back is high, with a gable bearing an inscription, and crowned by a finial, the remaining surface being panelled with an interlacing Arabic pattern enclosed by a border. A great antiquity has been claimed for this chair, but it is probably not older than the end of the eleventh century. (Fig. 287.)

To the sculpture and mosaic which had, since the earliest Christian centuries, been the constant adornment of the churches of Italy, the Greek artists added, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, another department of art. I have shown the characteristic sculpture which embellished the great doorways of the cathedrals and other churches. In many cases this decoration was completed and supplemented by the decoration of the doors themselves. The art of casting in bronze had been for several centuries in Italy a lost art, so that when, in the second half of the eleventh century, various members of the rich family of the Pantaleone of Amalfi wished to provide bronze doors for the cathedrals of Amalfi and Atrani, and later, for other churches, it was found necessary that the work should be done in Constantinople. Between 1066 and 1087 seven churches were thus furnished with bronze doors from the Byzantine capital. In most of these doors the treatment was essentially the same, — large panels either bearing simple inscriptions, or with emblematic devices (a decorated cross the most frequent of these) or with figures in outline generally very simple, all executed in niello; that is to say, with incised lines filled in with silver or some other precious material; the panels being enclosed in a frame or border decorated with more or less richness.

Bronze doors:

of Amalfi;

In the earliest of these doors, those of the cathedral of Amalfi, made in 1066, there are twenty-four oblong panels, disposed in four vertical rows. Of these panels, twenty bear only a large and rather ugly decorated cross, — the remaining four being

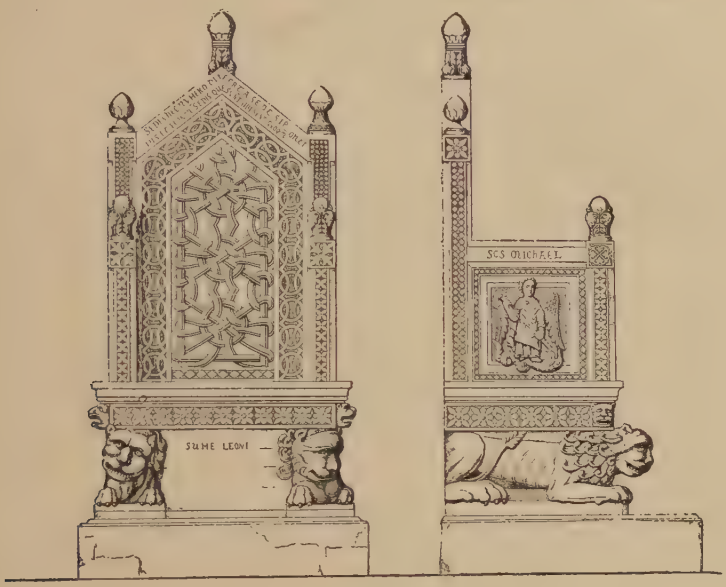

Fig. 287. Chair at Monte Sant' Angelo.

filled each by a single standing figure in niello, of pretty rude design and execution; the subjects are Christ the Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Andrew.

In the doors of the grotto church of St. Michael at Monte Sant' Angelo,[1] ten years later than those of Amalfi, the decoration is much richer and more complete. The number and arrangement of panels are the same as at Amalfi, but, with the exception of a single panel which contains an inscription, all the panels are filled with groups illustrating the legend of the archangel Michael and other angels. Both here and at Amalfi the panels are flat, the decoration being by means of lines incised with the chisel or graver, and filled in for the most part with cement variously colored, the lines of the figures being black, green, or blue, while those of the accessories — as foliage or architecture — are red; the exceptions being in the faces and hands, where silver is used. The bronze is in comparatively thin plates, fixed to a framework of solid oak. The cathedral of Atrani, the monastery of Monte Cassino, and the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura, at Rome, also received doors

of Monte S. Angelo;

[1] This grotto was of old a sacred place. Hither came the earliest Normans, as popes, emperors, and private adventurers had come for centuries before, to invoke the aid of the archangel in their enterprises, no matter how nefarious.

of similar character given by the same family of the Pantaleone, while the cathedral of Salerno, the church of S. Martino at Monte Cassino, were similarly endowed, the former in 1084 by Robert Guiscard, and the latter by the Lombard abbot Desiderius, who was perhaps the most zealous and enlightened patron of Byzantine art. The great doors of St. Paolo at Rome were destroyed in the disastrous fire of 1823.[1]

at Salerno; The Salerno doors differ from the others I have mentioned, chiefly in being much more minutely divided. The panels here number fifty-four, of which the greater part, as at Amalfi and Atrani, bear only a decorated cross, the others containing rude figures of Christ and the apostles and saints under arches. As in all the doors up to this time, the work is in niello, much of the decoration somewhat Arabic in character, with leafage, which, as well as the faces and hands of the figures, is outlined in silver, — though the greater part of the silver has long since disappeared.[2]

The inspiration of the Eastern art was caught, though not very promptly, by the Italian workmen. The earliest existing example of bronze doors executed in Italy appears to be the doors of the burial chapel of Bohemund at Canosa. (Fig. 288.) Bohemund died in 1111, and the chapel was built immediately after by Albereda his mother, adjacent to the church of S. Sabina, which Bohemund himself had erected some ten or twelve years before. The doors appear to have been executed by Roger of Amalfi, some time before 1120. They show a certain freedom of design which distinguishes them from the earlier examples, though the manner of execution is the same. The two valves are differently treated; that on the right hand being divided into four large square panels, of which the upper and lower have a circular geometrical Arabic pattern; while the two others enclose groups of figures. The left-hand valve has a single long panel, with three circular ornamental designs; the plain spaces between being occupied by inscriptions. The decoration is still in niello, and of much elegance, the lines of the faces and hands in silver.[3] A rich border encloses and separates the panels.

at Troja; The doors of the cathedral of Troja are nearly contemporary with those of Canosa, having been made between 1119 and 1127 by Oderisius of Benevento. Here the two valves are each divided into fourteen square panels, of which those in the lowest

[1] Schnaase, vol. vii., p. 593; Schulz, vol. i., pp. 116–242, 246–284, pls. 39–85. See, also, Dantier, *L'Italie*, i., 215.

[2] Schulz, vol ii., 284, pl. 85.

[3] *Ibid.*, pls. 10–41.

row bear simple incised inscriptions, while the rest enclose devices of very various character, single figures of popes and bishops, grotesque fishes, lions' heads holding rings, emblematic devices, as heraldic shields crowned by a cardinal's hat with cord and tassels, or a bishop's mitre, the whole enclosed by borders of foliage. The character of all this decoration is much less distinctly Byzantine than is usual.[1] (Fig. 289.)

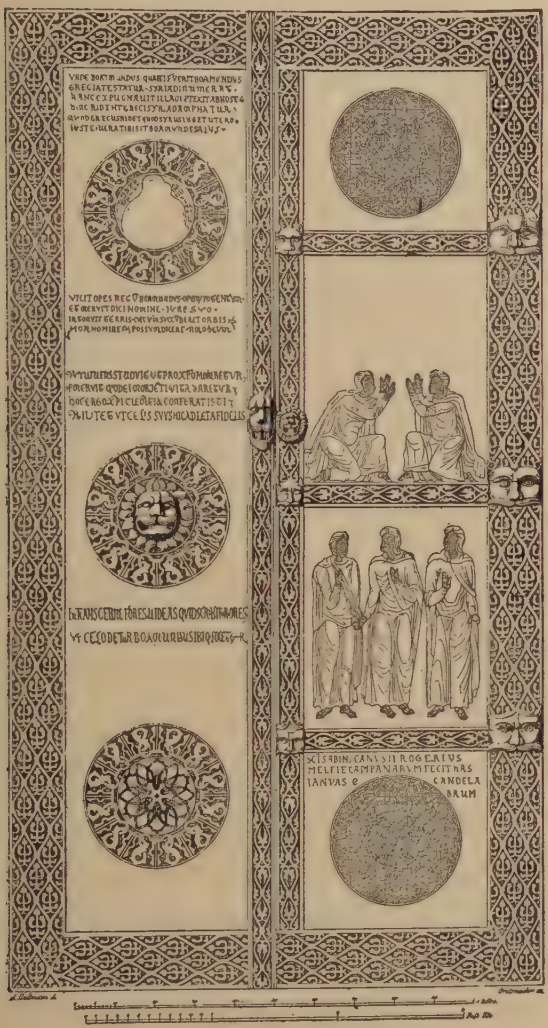

Fig. 288. Doors of Chapel of Bohemund.

In the twelfth century the method at Trani; of decoration by niello gradually gave way, as the subjects became more ambitious, to that of reliefs, cast on the plate. By 1160 the change seems to be complete. In that year the cathedral of Trani was adorned by a magnificent pair of doors executed by Barisanus of Trani. (Fig. 290.) Of this artist we know no more than the name, which is, however, immortalized not only by these doors of his native town, but by those which he

[1] Schulz gives these doors an earlier date, 1098 (vol. i., p. 187). See, also, Schnaase and Mothes, pl. 36.

executed somewhat later for the cathedral of Ravello and for the northern doorway of Monreale. These three examples differ in size and form: those of Ravello are much smaller than the others, being about seven feet wide and eleven feet high, while those of Trani are nearly ten feet wide and fifteen and a half feet high. But it is very curious that in all three of these widely separated examples, the panels, which vary greatly in number (thirty-two at Trani, fifty-four at Ravello, forty-four at Monreale), are for the most part identical in subject and design.

The subjects are of a prodigious variety, sacred and profane; single sitting figures of saints and apostles, knights on horseback, both Norman and Saracen, warriors with cross-bow, scenes from the chase, scenes from the life of Christ, kneeling angels, are mingled without coherence or system, and with a vigor and rude energy which partake more of the Lombard than of the Byzantine spirit, though a certain refinement of line shows the survival of the old Greek feeling. In the flat bands which enclose the panels, however, and which are themselves divided into small panels, there is a variety of reliefs of floral and figure subjects, of great delicacy of execution. In the Ravello doors the vertical border on each side of the opening is a very important feature of the composition, having a breadth equal to that of the panels and being itself divided into panels answering to those within it. The panels of the border are decorated with a design of intersecting circles enriched with foliage.[1]

M. Alphonse Dantier, one of the most intelligent and sympathetic of the travellers who have studied the monuments of Southern Italy, has some interesting remarks on these doors at Trani, from which I venture to quote a passage. "The doors of the cathedral of Trani may be considered to be one of the most curious and most perfect examples of the metal work of the twelfth century. If we examine them carefully we shall hardly know which to admire the most, the complete design or the details; the ingenuity of the invention or the finish of the execution; the immense variety of the subjects or the naturalness and expressiveness of the figures. Whether we study the larger figures in the panels or the smaller which enrich the borders, we find a certain life, a certain vivacity, and above all that tone of local color which brings before us, after the lapse of so many centuries, the religious faith and the warlike habits of the age of

[1] Schulz, vol. i., p. 116, pls. xx., xxv.; Schnaase, vol. vii., p. 595; Mothes, p. 621; Salazaro, pl. 16.

Fig. 289. Troia. Portion of Doors.

St. Bernard and of Cœur de Lion. On the one hand, the figures of the encircling border, the richly decorated knockers, the finely modelled rosettes which separate the panels, reveal the imagination of the artist. On the other, the customs and habits of thought of that age live again in these episodes of the chase, these mounted archers discharging their arrows backward as they ride, and not less in these real or fabulous beasts to which the Bible, the legends of the church, and the mystic poetry of the time had lent a sort of popular consecration."[1] (See, also, Fig. 291.)

at Monreale;

The cathedral of Monreale has, in addition to the doors of Barisanus, an equally fine example of bronze work from a widely different source, in the doors of the great central entrance of the west front. These are the work of the celebrated Pisan artist, Bonanno, the maker of the great doors of the Pisa cathedral, and the archi-

[1] *L'Italie*, vol. i., p. 211.

tect of the campanile. We have had occasion to observe the influence of the contemporary Pisan architecture in several of the most important of the churches of South Italy, as Troia and Siponto. But the doors of Monreale furnish the only instance, so far as is known, where the Pisan artist himself is clearly present. At the bottom of the narrow right-hand stile of these doors appears this inscription: ANNO DNI MCLXXXVI IND GOE BONANNUS CIVIS PISANUS ME FECIT.[1]

The doors, though set in a pointed arch, are themselves rectangular, measuring about ten feet in width by twenty-five in height, and are divided into forty-four panels, set in four vertical rows, the upper and lower panels, however, occupying the full breadth of the valve. The subjects are executed in bas-relief, and consist, with the exception of the two lowest panels, entirely of scenes from the Old and New Testaments, beginning with the Creation of Adam and Eve, and ending, in the two uppermost panels, with the Annunciation to the Virgin and Christ surrounded by angels and cherubim. (Fig. 292.)

The comparison of the doors of Bonanno with those of Barisanus is most interesting. Although the two are almost exactly contemporary, yet the work of the Pisan architect is still archaic in style, though by no means rude in execution; the panels are without mouldings, the vertical bands of foliage are rigid, though not conventionalized, and without much relation with each other. The sculpture of the panels is in very high relief and spirited in character. The work of Barisanus is more homogeneous; the foliage, though rigidly conventionalized, is appropriate to its position in the enclosing bands and carefully subordinated to the figure sculpture of the panels. The figures themselves are single, with only three exceptions, consisting mostly of sitting saints, of admirable design. A standing figure of an archer in the act of shooting, scarcely twelve inches high, in one of the lower panels, is of remarkable vivacity and vigor.[2]

at San Clemente, Pescara.

In the later works of this sort, even before the end of the century, the refinement of artistic feeling disappears in great measure. The doors of San Clemente at Pescara, which date from 1191, and even those of Benevento, probably of nearly the same date, show a distinct decline in the higher qualities of art. The last-mentioned are nevertheless in some respects among

[1] Professor Springer, in his *Mittelaltliche Kunst in Palermo*, denies in the face of this inscription that these doors are the work of Bonanno, and maintains that they are by a Sicilian artist.

[2] Gravina, pl. xii.; Dehli, pl. xlvii.

the most magnificent of all the doors of the period, as they are certainly the largest. They are more minutely panelled than any others except those of San Clemente, where the number of panels is the same, — no less than seventy-two, — enclosing groups of figures in high relief. The subjects are of various character, those of the five upper rows, forty in all, being from the life of Christ, the rest mostly figures of local bishops. The designs show much vivacity and invention, but both the figures and the draperies have lost the touch of Greek simplicity and grace which is perceptible through all the rudeness of the earlier work. It is like a return to the forms of the Lombard sculpture of the Northern churches.[1]

With the Norman work

Fig. 290. Trani. Half of Central Doors.

[1] Serradifalco remarks, citing D'Agincourt, upon the evidence of Byzantine influence in these doors, that in comparing them with those of St. Paul at Rome and with those of Pisa, made in Constantinople, as drawn by Ciampini (for the doors of Pisa as well as those of St. Paul were destroyed by fire), it is manifest that all three were closely related in subject and composition. Serradifalco, *Del Duomo di Monreale*, pp. 9, 10, pl. iv. See, also, Hittorff, *Architecture moderne de la Sicile*, p. 57, pl. 66.

Fig. 291. Monreale. Portion of Doors of Barisanus.

of the eleventh and twelfth centuries the development of architecture in the Southern provinces of Italy comes to an end. In the great Gothic movement of Northern Italy, in the greater Renaissance movement which followed it, and which filled the streets of Florence and Rome and Venice with the masterpieces of modern architecture, the South had no part. The intense local patriotism of the Northern cities, the prodigious commerce, the rapid increase in wealth, and the immense stimulus to letters and the arts which for centuries made

Italy the undisputed leader of the civilization of the world, had no parallel in the South. For a brief period, indeed, this brilliant flowering of the genius of Italy was anticipated in the neighboring island of Sicily, under the extraordinary mixture of races which followed the Norman conquest. I shall attempt in the next chapter to trace briefly the history of this remarkable phenomenon.

Fig. 292. Monreale. Portion of Doors of Bonanno.

CHAPTER VI

SICILIAN ARCHITECTURE

Our knowledge of the mediæval architecture of Sicily begins, singularly enough, with the Norman occupation in the eleventh century. When we consider the close and continuous connection, both political and commercial, which was maintained for nearly or quite four hundred years between this great island and the Eastern Empire, and the Saracen occupation which followed the decay of that empire, and which endured for more than two hundred years, it is inexplicable that so little, so nearly nothing in fact, should remain of the monuments of those six centuries. Of the earlier period, we can only conjecture that in the savage and long-continued wars by which the Saracens finally overthrew the Byzantine domination, the Byzantine monuments, probably of somewhat unsubstantial character, were sacrificed to the religious zeal of the conquerors. Yet in the destroying raids of the Saracens upon the southern provinces of the peninsula, which were kept up with short intervals all through the two centuries of their occupation of Sicily, great numbers of the ancient Lombard monuments of those regions were spared, and have, as we have seen, endured to our own day.

In the effort to put a stop to these destructive attacks of the Saracens, various expeditions were undertaken by the mixed armies of Southern Italy during the tenth and eleventh centuries for the invasion of Sicily, and the Normans were represented more or less largely in these armies very soon after their first appearance in Italy. But it was not until the Norman power had been firmly established in South Italy that these expeditions met with any considerable success. It was reserved for Roger, the brother of Robert Guiscard, to undertake and to carry through the work of conquest and to inaugurate the most brilliant period in the history of Sicily. Under him the rule of the Saracens in that island was brought in 1090, after thirty years of war, to a definite and permanent end.[1] The popula-

[1] It was in assisting the operations of Roger against Palermo, the Saracen capital, that the Pisan fleet distinguished itself.

tion he found there was a singularly mixed population composed of Greeks, Lombards, Arabs, and Jews, who had enjoyed under the Saracen rule an extraordinary measure of personal liberty and independence, each race retaining its own language and to a great extent its own civil and religious customs. It is related that when Roger took possession of Palermo, he found a Greek archbishop in the free exercise of his ecclesiastical functions, and the Christian churches and monasteries as undisturbed as in Italy. The two official languages in use were Greek and Arabic. This tolerance was imitated by the Norman conqueror. The various races, to which now still another was added,[1] retained practically unimpaired their own traditions and institutions and ways of life. The Greeks were still allowed to adhere to the code of Justinian, the Lombards to that of Rotharis ; the Saracens still took their official oaths on the Koran, and the Normans brought in the Frankish laws and customs. Even the Jews were allowed to worship freely in their own synagogues and to hold land, paying, however, the same tribute to the Norman rulers which they had paid to the Saracens. Malaterra relates that a Mussulman named Bencimen was made governor of Catania.

Count Roger proved himself to be made of very different stuff from most of the rough fighters who had overrun Italy from various directions for six hundred years.[2] He was not content with conquering or possessing the regions he had invaded, but set himself to work

[1] It is estimated that the Normans never formed more than one per cent. of the population of Sicily, but they were the *élite*, composed almost wholly of barons and feudatories, a true feudal aristocracy. It is interesting to remember that at this period the Norman conquest of England was still fresh, and that the intercourse between England and Sicily was frequent and intimate. Many Englishmen were to be found in the larger towns of Sicily, some holding important offices.

[2] What the Monk of Telesia (Alexander Telesinus), a contemporary chronicler, says of Roger, the king, seems to apply with equal truth to his father : "He loved justice and avenged crime ; he abhorred lying, did all by rule, and never promised what he did not mean to perform. He was energetic, but not rash, guarded in language, and self-controlled in action. He never persecuted his private enemies. Justice and peace were universally observed throughout his dominions." Before leaving Italy to undertake the conquest of Sicily, he had a prolonged conference with Pope Nicholas II., who encouraged him in his great enterprise, and said to him : "When, victorious over thine enemies, thou shalt have subdued the island, show thyself, whatever may be thy power, obedient to God. Make of thy spoils of victory three portions, — the first for building churches and hospitals, the second for the soldiers who have fought thy battles, the third for thyself. When thou shalt have done these things, I, sovereign Pontiff, will bless thee, and the Lord will be with thee in all thy ways." Roger was so far true to the Pope's injunctions as to bestow on the church one third of the lands and properties confiscated, and thus were laid the foundations of the great estates rapidly accumulated by the churches and monasteries of Sicily.

to pacify and develop. He created before his death the beginning of a civilization which had at this period no equal in Europe. He had, to be sure, as a foundation, the Arab fineness and intelligence, solidified by two hundred years of continuous possession and enlightened administration over a people consisting not only of Arabs, but also of Greeks and Jews.[1] Roger died in 1101, and was succeeded by his son Roger, the first king, who continued for fifty years the noble work which his father had commenced. Under him the bitter hostility of the mixed population of Sicily towards the new rulers was calmed, and an interval of peace and tranquillity followed, during which literature and the arts were protected and encouraged.

As early as 1071, during his prolonged siege of Palermo, Robert Guiscard had built a small church outside the walls of that city, to which was attached, according to the Christian custom of the time, a hospital for lepers. The hospital gave the name to the church, which was called San Giovanni dei Lebbrosi. (Fig. 293.) This was a basilica, with a short nave and aisles separated by arcades of four round arches each, on octagonal piers, and opening into a fully developed transept, not projecting beyond the aisle walls, but rising as high as the nave, and divided by a single broad arch in the line of each of the nave arcades into three unequal bays, of which the central one is covered by a dome. Three apses open from the east sides of the bays, the central apse preceded by a shallow rectangular bay. The doors and windows are covered by arches, round outside, pointed within. The church has been entirely rebuilt on the interior. In its present form the nave is covered by a barrel vault, the aisles by groins, but not divided into bays. The old apses and the Saracenic dome at the crossing are preserved.

About the same time Robert's brother, Count Roger, by whom the conquest of Sicily was finally completed, was building the cathedral of Troina, a much larger church than San Giovanni, and very different in disposition. The plan here is a Latin cross, with nave and aisles of nearly equal width, separated by arcades of five arches with square piers, the transept divided into three equal square bays, the ends projecting slightly, the crossing covered by an octagonal dome, which takes externally the form of a square tower, and on the east end three square bays in the line of naves and aisles, but no apse. The exterior is very rude and primitive.

[1] Palermo had, at the time of the Norman conquest, a population of about three hundred thousand. Salazaro, *Studi sui monumenti d' Italia meridionale dall' iv. all' xiii. secolo*, ii. 354.

In these early churches the influence of the native races of the island is scarcely perceptible, either in general disposition or in details or decoration. Of the last, indeed, there can scarcely be said to be any. After the conquest was complete a half century intervened, during which we may suppose the practical affairs incident to the consolidation of a new dynasty and the pacification of a new kingdom prevented the sovereign from giving much thought to the building of churches. He did apparently make some progress with the building, or perhaps the restoration, of a royal palace or castle in Palermo, which, however, he left his successor to finish; and that edifice has undergone such radical rebuilding in later years — notably by the princes of the sixteenth century — that little of the original palace of King Roger can be recognized beyond a single one of the four square angle towers which made its principal exterior features. (Fig. 316.)

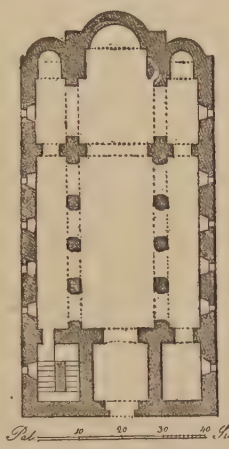

Fig. 293. Palermo. S. Giov. dei Lebbrosi.

But when the second Roger, the first king, — who, although he succeeded to the kingly authority soon after his father's death in 1101, was not crowned until 1130, — had established himself firmly on the throne, churches began to rise all over the island. Those which are of most interest to us, as illustrating most clearly this brilliant episode of European history and the extraordinary mingling of nationalities, which is one of its chief characteristics, are nearly all in or near the capital city of Palermo. They group themselves in two distinct divisions according as their founders followed the traditions of the continental architecture to which they had become accustomed or were governed by those of the native races which formed the greater part of their population. Several of the earlier churches of this period were transcripts, more or less modified, of the smaller monuments of the Eastern towns, — a Greek cross inscribed in a square, divided into square bays, with a central dome, sometimes repeated in the bays adjacent to the centre, and with three apses on the eastern side. Such was the interesting church erected about 1129 by George of Antioch, the High Admiral of King Roger, who enjoyed the title of First Noble of Sicily.[1] The church was called

[1] In the archives of the church the act of endowment, written partly in Greek and partly in Arabic, is still preserved, by which the admiral endows the church with certain

Santa Maria del Ammiraglio, but is more commonly known as La Martorana, from a family of later benefactors. It has been enlarged both on the east and on the west, but the original construction is still easily distinguishable. Its plan, like that of the Eastern churches with which its founder was familiar, is a square of about thirty-six feet, with four columns forming an inner square of some fifteen feet, from which pointed arches spring across the four sides of the square, and also to the exterior walls. The interior is thus divided into nine bays, of which that in the centre is covered by a high dome raised on an octagonal drum with pointed windows, the transition from the square to the octagon being made by round arched squinches. The four oblong bays, adjacent to the central bay, are covered by pointed barrel vaults, and form the four arms of the cross, the four square bays at the angles being lower and covered by groined vaulting. The three eastern bays terminate in apses, at the openings of which are set small columns of porphyry and verd-antique, the central apse being preceded by a rectangular tribune. The walls and vaults are covered to a considerable extent with mosaics, of which many are doubtless contemporary with the church, while others are a century more recent. Of the older mosaics, one, probably the earliest Norman mosaic in Sicily, shows the noble founder prostrate at the feet of the Virgin, who exhibits to Christ, looking down out of an opening at the top, a scroll bearing these words, "Oh Son of God, protect ever from all harm George the first of princes, who has raised this temple to me from the foundations." [1] The beautiful mosaic pavement of the church still remains, and defines the limits of the original floor.[2]

The remarkable tower of the Martorana was probably of older date than the church, and a portion of some other edifice now destroyed. It is separated from the original church of the admiral by a distance of some fifty feet, the intervening space being now covered by the Renaissance addition, — two or three times as large as the original church, — which was made in the middle of the fifteenth

lands, and with ten serfs or *villani* attached thereto, whose names are given. (G. Knight, *The Normans in Sicily*, p. 260, note.) It is difficult in these prosaic days to appreciate duly the splendor of this exalted personage. In an epitaph quoted by Boito he is styled "the radiant morning star, the marvel of the world, a friendly light to the Christians, a devouring flame to the barbarians," etc., etc.

[1] In another inscription, which records the consecration of the church in 1143, the admiral excuses himself to the Virgin that the temple he has dedicated to her is so small. Mothes, p. 544.

[2] See Dehli and Chamberlin, *Norman Monuments of Palermo*, pl. 25, *et seq.*

Fig. 294. Palermo. La Martorana.

century. (Fig. 294.) The tower is in four well-marked stages, of which the first two are plain and square, while the upper two are greatly enriched by the addition of round angle turrets. The tower was originally crowned by a hemispherical dome, which has now disappeared. With the exception of the open pointed arches of the first stage, all the openings of the tower are of two lights, divided by marble shafts, and covered by pointed bearing arches. The ornament, which is profuse, is of a singular character, hardly to be called distinctively Saracenic, yet doubtless due to Saracenic influence, as is also the general use of the pointed arch.

Very near the Martorana is the nearly contemporary, perhaps slightly later, church of S. Cataldo, with much the same general characteristics. The principle of the Greek cross, here, as in the Martorana, governs the disposition, although the plan is not a square, but a rectangle measuring about twenty-five by thirty-three feet within the walls. The division into nine bays is the same as in the Martorana, but the side bays are narrower. The three bays of the nave are all covered by domes. The transition from the square to

the circle is made by two stages, an octagon intervening between the lower and upper plans. The drum is pierced by eight simple pointed windows, and four small windows, round-arched, are set at the base of the dome itself. The domes, as in all the Eastern examples, and like all their fellows in Sicily, are simple hemispheres without ribs and without lantern.

Fig. 295. Palermo. S. Cataldo.

The side bays are all covered by domed groined vaults. The division of the interior into bays is by means of four tall, slender, serpentine columns with freely designed Corinthian capitals, which are joined with each other and with the four walls of the church by pointed arches of the simplest character. On the east end the middle bay has a semicircular apse, covered by a spherical vault, and the side bays have each an answering niche in the thickness of the east wall. (Figs. 295, 296.)

In S. Giovanni degli Eremiti, finished, like the admiral's church, in 1132, the plan is entirely different from those of the other Palermo churches of which I have spoken, being T-shaped, without aisles, measuring about sixteen by fifty feet within the walls. (Fig. 297.) There is nothing Saracenic about the plan of this little church. The nave consists of two square bays, and opens into a square tribune, on the east side of which is a flat niche in the thickness of the straight wall. The transept arms, as well as the tribune and the two bays of the nave, were originally covered by domes, of the character of those we have seen in the two last-mentioned churches, but the domes of the nave were much larger than the others. The dividing arches are partly round and partly pointed.

The exterior is thoroughly Oriental in aspect. The walls are plain without cornice, and with few openings or other features, and the domes repose upon the flat roof without the intervention of any

preparatory drum. The tower, which rises over the northern arm of the transept, has a belfry stage with a broad pointed arched opening in each face, with three orders of jambs and archivolts, and is surmounted by a plain hemispherical dome. Some of the windows of the church are closed by plates of marble perforated with an Arabic pattern.[1] (Fig. 298.)

The church has a beautiful but decaying cloister, with arcades of small pointed arches on coupled twisted columns. (Fig. 299.)

At Malvagna, near Randazzo, is a monument of which the age is not accurately known, but which cannot be far from contemporary with those I have cited. This is a little Greek chapel which is chiefly interesting as being one of the extremely rare examples in Italy or Sicily of genuine Byzantine arrangement and construction. Its plan (Fig. 300) is a square of no more than eighteen feet inside the walls, covered by a low dome, the transition made by squinches in the angles. From three sides of the square open semicircular apses, covered by semi-domes which abut against and buttress the central dome. The arrangement repeats precisely, upon a small scale, but more completely, that of S. Sofia at Constantinople.[2]

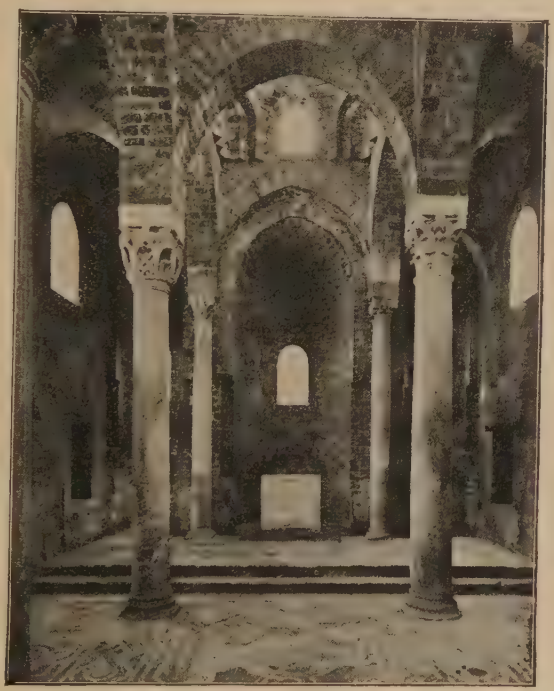

Fig. 296. Palermo. Interior of S. Cataldo.

In all these instances the Norman rulers turned their backs on the architectural traditions, not only of their own country, but of that country in which their career of conquest had begun, and

[1] Serradifalco, *Del Duomo di Monreale, e di altre chiese Siculo-Normanne;* Gally Knight; Hittorff; Mothes, p. 542.

[2] G. Knight, *The Normans in Sicily*, p. 178.

allowed their monuments to be built in the style and with the decoration familiar to the various elements of the people they had come to govern. The use of the pointed arch was here first brought to the knowledge of the new rulers, and became at once general with them. But it was the pointed arch of the Saracens, broad, high-stilted, and without mouldings, and had no relation whatever to the use of the pointed arch in the Gothic architecture of the north of Europe, which was, even then, beginning to be introduced in the monastic architecture of Italy as well. Nowhere in Sicily, I believe, is there any instance, dating from the period we are now considering, of an interior which has any hint of a Gothic system. The use of the intersecting vault is confined entirely to the small bays of the aisles or porches, while the naves, where not covered by the Oriental dome, or the equally Oriental stalactite ceiling, are invariably covered by an open timber roof.[1]

But at the same time and in the same capital where these monuments were building, the Norman king was also building in the royal palace of his predecessor a chapel whose general plan was more in harmony with the traditions of Italy, and which furnished the type of most of the later churches of the Normans. The Cappella Palatina, as it is now commonly called, has suffered little from the restorations which have transformed so large a proportion of the ancient churches, and is as we see it to-day in perfect preservation, and substantially the chapel which King Roger consecrated in 1140. It is one of the most interesting and valuable monuments of the splendid architecture of the Norman kings. The chapel is entered from an arcaded gallery surrounding the court on the second story of the palace. Its plan (Fig. 301) is a rectangle about forty-one feet by eighty-eight, divided into nave and

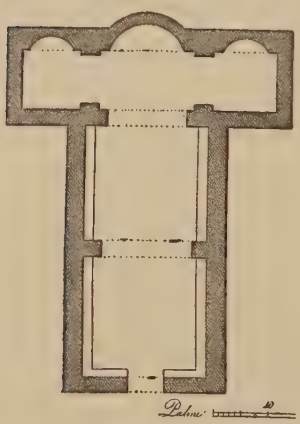

Fig. 297. Palermo. S. Giovanni degli Eremiti.

[1] A possible exception to this statement is to be found in the little chapel near the Zisa, transformed from a mosque by the early Norman princes under the name of S. Anna alla Zisa. It is a rectangle only fifteen and a half by thirty-seven feet, of which the eastern half is covered by a high dome like some of those mentioned above, and the western half by a groined vault. Hittorff, p. 26.

Fig. 298. Palermo. S. Giovanni degli Eremiti.

aisles, with a transept as high as the nave, but with no projection beyond the aisle walls, and from which open three apses in the axes of nave and aisles; the crossing covered by a high dome. In its general disposition, then, the chapel does not materially differ from the familiar type of the Romanesque church as seen both in the north and the south of Italy. It is only in the treatment of its details, in the use of the pointed arch, and in its sumptuous decoration, that we feel the influence of the mixed Orientalism which colored all the art of Sicily at this period. The nave and aisles are separated by arcades of five broad and highly stilted pointed arches, supported by columns alternately of polished granite and marble, with Corinthian capitals. The height of the arch is very nearly as great as that of the column, and the stilt of it is nearly or quite one-half its height. Above the arcade is a rather low clerestory, pierced with single small pointed windows, one over each arch. A high pointed triumphal arch similar in form to those of the nave arches, but even higher in proportion to its supports, opens between nave and transept, and a similar arch in the line of each nave arcade divides the transept into three unequal bays, of which the middle one is covered by a dome of Byzantine form, whose relation to its supports is peculiar. These supports,

which consist of four columns of unequal diameter, the largest scarcely more than eighteen inches, form in plan not a square, but a rectangle, of which the length in the direction of the nave is greater than its breadth by something more than four feet, the diameter of the dome being about eighteen feet, equal to the shorter sides of the rectangle. The dome thus falls at two points of its periphery some two feet inside of the arches upon which it depends for support. The small scale of the building makes it possible to meet the difficulty of construction in the simplest manner by corbelling forward the wall over the two smaller arches. In form the dome resembles that of many of the smaller Byzantine churches, with a circular wall or drum carried up so as to enclose the lower half of it, with only the upper flat segment showing above the cornice, and a ring of small windows at its base. The side bays of the transept are very long and narrow, having only the breadth of the aisles, and are covered by high-stilted, slightly pointed barrel vaults, their axes in a line with the aisles. The aisles themselves are covered by sloping wood ceilings following the line of the roof, and the nave has a coved wooden ceiling of the richest Moorish character, similar in design to many of those in Granada and Seville, and decorated in the most

Fig. 299. Palermo. Cloisters of the Eremiti.

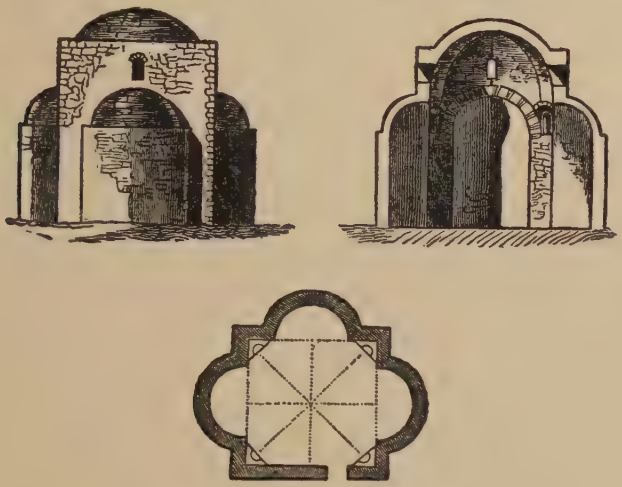

Fig. 300. Greek Chapel at Malvagna.

lavish manner with gold and color, the borders of the panels bearing Arabic inscriptions in the Cufic character. The interior surfaces, with the exception of the nave ceiling, are everywhere flat; the arches are without mouldings, the clerestory and apses without belt or cornice. But these flat surfaces are decorated throughout the church with the utmost splendor. The walls are lined to the height of fourteen feet with plates of marble and porphyry, in panels enclosed within borders of beautiful mosaic in geometrical patterns, with a double frieze above. (Fig. 302.)

Above this, the walls, arches, domes, and vaults, even to the soffits of the arches, are covered with gold mosaics of the greatest variety and beauty, the figures having much expressiveness and dignity, without the rigid formality of most of the Byzantine mosaics. Some of these mosaics are doubtless contemporary with the chapel, but the greater part were added during the reign of William I., the son of Roger, before the end of the century. The pavement of the whole chapel is of mosaic, of admirable design and decoration; and the organ gallery is one of the most exquisite examples of geometrical mosaic in Europe. It may perhaps be more properly called a delicate inlay, being composed of porphyry, serpentine, and white and red marbles, with gold glass, in most graceful designs.

In this lovely chapel the Norman architecture of Sicily came to its full flowering. In later monuments we shall find equal magnificence

and more complete development of plan and disposition, but nowhere a more typical or a more beautiful expression of the peculiar genius of the place and time. The Cappella Palatina may be said to bear much the same relation to the cathedrals of Palermo and Monreale which the Sainte Chapelle of Paris bears to the later Gothic of France.[1]

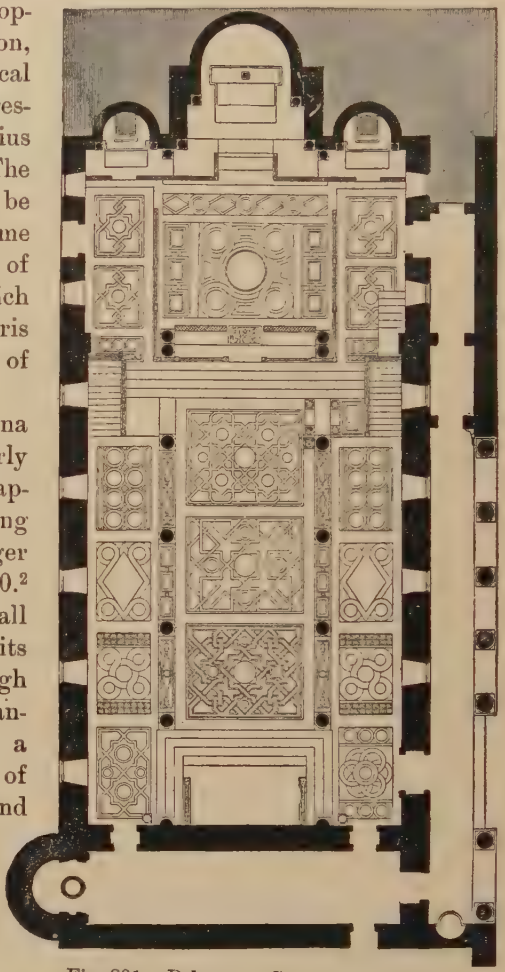

Fig. 301. Palermo. Cappella Palatina.

The cathedrals of Messina and Cefalù are both nearly contemporary with the Cappella Palatina, both having been founded by King Roger not far from the year 1130.[2] Of the former a very small portion, if any, retains its original architecture, though the plan is probably substantially unchanged. It is a long three-aisled basilica of which the high transept and the three deep apses which open from it in the line of nave and aisles have the characteristic disposition of the Norman Sicilian cathedrals. A reminder of the Saracen influence still remains in the slightly horseshoe form of the nave arches. Of the great wealth of mosaic decoration which enriched the original church, the greater part was destroyed by a disastrous conflagration early in the thirteenth century, but the mosaics of the three apses were preserved.

[1] Hittorff, p. 43, pls. 44–47; Serradifalco, pls. 15–17; Mothes, p. 540.

[2] Gally Knight says the cathedral of Messina was founded by *Count* Roger in 1098, and left unfinished until 1130, when *King* Roger completed it. *Normans in Sicily*, pp. 116–119.

The cathedral of Cefalù is one of the many mediæval churches whose origin is credited by tradition to the pious gratitude of their founders. King Roger, so the story runs, returning in 1131 from an expedition to the Italian coast, was overtaken by a tempest in which he was in imminent peril of shipwreck; whereupon he made a vow to build, if he got safe to shore, a church to the glory of Christ

Fig. 302. Palermo. Cappella Palatina.

and the apostles. He landed at Cefalù, and began at once the building of the cathedral. In size it is not a church of the first class, its total length being about 217 feet, as compared with 300 feet at Messina, and 260 at Monreale. But it is a church of great interest and value as illustrating the mingling of the various elements of constructive and decorative taste which existed side by side in this singular community, and which the genius of the time was able to combine into absolute harmony.

The church is entered through an open vaulted western porch of three bays, between two square angle towers. The nave and aisles are separated by arcades of seven slightly pointed, high-stilted arches, on columns of polished red granite, with white marble bases, and capitals of various design, many of which are from older buildings. The clerestory has a single pointed window over each arch. The arcades terminate in strong square piers, between which a high pointed triumphal arch opens into the transept. In the angles of these piers, as also in those of the answering piers on the aisle walls, are set small detached angle columns, those under the triumphal arch being repeated by superposed columns; and the large piers have also on two sides larger columns, one of which takes the spring of the last of the nave arches, and the other that of the central member of the triumphal arch. The transept, very narrow and high, projects nearly a half of its breadth beyond the aisle walls, and is divided into three square bays by a single narrow and very lofty pointed arch in the line of each of the nave arcades, the central bay being covered by a dome which is now invisible from the interior, being concealed by a continuous wooden ceiling covering the whole transept. From the east wall of the transept open three very deep tribunes, the middle one in two square bays, covered by groined vaults, and each terminating in an apse. In the transept ends, the wall has on three sides of the bay, just under the vault, an open arcaded gallery of small depth, in the thickness of the wall, with small round arches on columns, — a Lombard feature of which this is perhaps the only example in Sicily.

The central apse and one of the two groined bays of the central tribune are still covered — walls and roof — with the original gold mosaics. All the others have disappeared. Those which remain consist entirely of single standing figures of saints and apostles. The great half-length figure of Christ on the vault of the central apse dominates the whole interior. Below on the wall of the apse and the adjacent bay are three ranges of figures, over a very high

Fig. 303. Cefalù. Interior of Cathedral.

wainscoting, now of rich parti-colored marbles. The greater portion of the interior of the church has been cruelly modernized, but this cannot destroy the striking effect of the extraordinary lofty choir, with its high groined vault, opening from the flat east wall of the transept, by the high and narrow pointed arch. There is nothing like it south of the Alps ; and even in the North the effect of the similar choir is wholly different, because the vault and its supports continue, in appearance, those of the nave, while here the choir opens from the flat wall, the effect being greatly enhanced by the contrast with the comparatively low and narrow arches which connect the side tribunes with the transept. (Fig. 303.)

The exterior of this church is scarcely less interesting than the interior. The west front is flanked by the square angle towers of the Norman cathedrals of France, but here they are brought forward from the façade, and enclose a great open arcaded porch, with three arches, the middle one round, the sides pointed. Above the porch are two stages of blind arcades, the lower of intersecting pointed arches, as at Amalfi, interrupted in the centre by a broad pointed window whose lack of coherence with the arcade suggests that it may have been a later addition. The upper stage has round arches. In both stages the arches rest on engaged columns, and are decorated with the billet ornament of the Normans. There is no gable. The towers are of somewhat rude design, with three stages of simple pointed windows, coupled in the upper stage under a pointed bearing-arch. There is a smaller square belfry stage, crowned with a pyramidal spire. (Fig. 304.)

The blind interlacing arcade of the façade is repeated on the flanks of the central tribune, and on the transept ends, where the walls are divided into bays by flat pilaster strips, as in the Lombard churches of the north of Italy. It is also repeated on the upper portion of the long east wall of the transept, and on the side apses. In the latter case the arcade is of the whole height of the wall, the arches springing from tall engaged coupled columns, with well-developed foliage capitals. Over this arcade the eaves are enriched by an arched corbel-table, — another reminder of the Lombard churches. The central apse, which is double the height of the side apses, has also its blind arcade, which is peculiarly treated. The slender coupled columns stand on elongated pedestals, which are themselves raised on a high stylobate, and their capitals are joined by two small pointed arches instead of a single arch. The pointed dome, once enclosed in a square lantern, is now exposed, and adds a Byzantine effect to this remarkable exterior.

A large and fine cloister, now much ruined, adjoins the church on the north, with pointed arches springing from coupled columns with large and variously designed capitals. At the angles the columns are in groups of four.[1]

An interval of near fifty years seems to have elapsed between the building of the group of churches above described, and the two great cathedrals which form almost the only additional examples of the splendor of the Norman church architecture in Sicily.

The great King Roger, after ruling Sicily with singular wisdom

[1] Salazaro, pp. 62–64; Serradifalco, pls. 18–22; Mothes, p. 535; G. Knight.

and ability for half a century, died in 1154, and was succeeded first by his son, William the Bad, and in 1168 by his grandson, William the Good, then still in his minority. Under the last king the two cathedrals of Palermo and Monreale were built. Palermo had a cathedral, begun in 1109, in the early days of the second Roger, on the ruins of a mosque which the Saracens had built. A year or two after the second William came to the throne an English prelate, Walter of the Mill,[1] became archbishop of Palermo, and his first work seems to have been the rebuilding of the cathedral. The western portion was, we are told, entirely rebuilt; the eastern, less completely. The church, when finished in 1185, though perhaps less pure and restrained in form than the Cappella Palatina, was doubtless one of the most beautiful in Sicily, while in splendor of decoration it was unsurpassed. But a tasteless modernization at the lowest and darkest period of the eighteenth century has transformed the interior quite beyond recognition, leaving little or nothing but the ground plan, and not all of that, a new east end having been built within the old, lessening the length of the choir. The plan is a Latin cross, and very similar in its general disposition to that of Cefalù, but without the western porch and towers. (Fig. 305.) The three tribunes, which at Cefalù are quite disconnected from each other, or connected only by a small arched opening in each dividing wall, are at Palermo joined by a broad arch, which makes the rectangular portions of them into a sort of second transept, answering somewhat to the bema of some early basilicas. The nave

Fig. 304. Cefalù. Façade of Cathedral.

[1] Whose name appears in history amusingly Italianized as Offamilio.

arcades were of pointed arches carried on groups of four slender columns set in a square, and joined by their bases and abaci into a singularly beautiful pier; and above the arcade the clerestory was pierced by three-light pointed windows divided by columnar mullions. The ceiling was of wood, decorated with gold and color, and the whole interior was magnificently enriched with precious marbles and mosaics. All this splendor remained practically untouched until the end of the eighteenth century, when the cruel hand of the "Restorer" was laid upon the church and its beauty vanished "as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it and turning it upside down."[1]

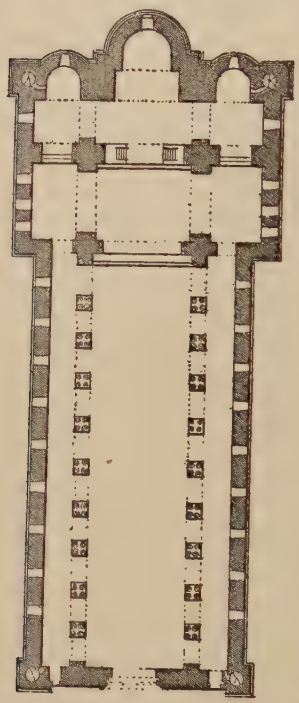

Fig. 305. Palermo. Cathedral.

The exterior has also suffered greatly from successive changes, mostly earlier than the transformation of the interior under Fuga, though the Renaissance dome added by him is the most incongruous of all the additions which have been made.

The west front is, in its present condition, a singular but interesting composition of which some features may belong to the church of the twelfth century, but the greater portion of which appears to have been governed by two majestic pointed arches which are thrown

[1] Even the dry and prosaic Mothes grows indignant over this atrocious spoliation. His account is so complete an exposition of the treatment to which countless beautiful churches of the Middle Ages have been subjected under the name of restoration, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even nearer to our own day, that I venture to translate it.

"In 1781–1801 the interior was completely transformed, or rather deformed by Ferdinando Fuga, [the royal architect] in spite of the strenuous remonstrance of the Palermitan architects under the lead of G. V. Marvuglia, well known for his advocacy of the classic style. Fuga walled up the groups of nave columns with massive piers, substituted round for pointed arches in the arcades, opened the aisles into fourteen lateral chapels, set a row of domes over each aisle, thus hiding on the exterior the clerestory windows, covered the crossing with a clumsy Barock dome, destroyed the apse decoration of Gagini, and replaced the sumptuous wood ceiling by a whitewashed vault. Of the marble, porphyry, lapis lazuli, jasper, mosaics, statues, monuments, — some were sold, others disappeared without leaving a trace. His impious hand was laid also on the exterior of the church, but the breaking out of war fortunately interfered with the completion of the Erostratic work." P. 558.

from it across the street on which it faces, to the tower of the archbishop's palace, and which divide the façade into three compartments. The two slender towers which rise from the angles are very like those of the east end. The central door and the light windows with pointed bearing arches have columns whose shafts are decorated with the Norman chevron, while the crowning feature of the façade is an intersecting arcade running from tower to tower, in which, however, the arches are round instead of pointed, as in nearly all the other examples in Sicily, and are pierced with windows. On the south flank, which is the principal front of the church, many changes have been made. The three-arched open porch at the main doorway, with its broad high-stilted pointed arches supported on slender columns, exhibits some of the forms of the Saracenic arcades, and its columns themselves are old, one bearing an Arabic inscription. But the flanking towers and the low gable are anything but Saracenic, and the whole construction is doubtless three hundred years later than the church. The lower walls of the flank are the work of Fuga, but the high clerestory retains much of the beauty of form and material of the early construction; the wall being crossed by bands of various colored marbles, and crowned by a richly decorated frieze with an arched corbel-table, and a battlement which recalls that of the ducal palace at Venice. In the square transept end, with its single window in the middle of a pointed blind arcade, as in all the exterior to the eastward of it, there is less evidence of the restorer's hand, and the whole of the eastern end shows presumably the original architecture. The three apses are surrounded by a blind

Fig. 306. Palermo. Cathedral.

interlacing arcade, not on columns as at Cefalù, but with a broad, flat, decorated border carried all around each arch. Within the sharp pointed arches are lower and blunter blind arches, without openings, but decorated with bands of marble inlay of great delicacy and beauty. Above the arcade is a most elaborate cornice, composed of bands of mosaic and a pointed arched corbel-table, the whole crowned by a singular undulating battlement. This terminal ornament is repeated on the long rear wall of the tribunes, which rises without openings, high above the apses, above even the transept, and is decorated by a series of disconnected blind arches with borders of mosaic. The east end is flanked by two tall and slender square towers, of which the lower portion continues the decoration of the apses, while the upper portion, divided into stages with coupled openings under bearing arches, much in the Lombard manner, appears to be of later date.[1] (Fig. 307.)

Simultaneously with the building of the cathedral the English prelate was carrying on a smaller work, which is, however, interesting as showing the prevalence of the characteristic Saracenic features in the Norman churches. This was the small church of S. Spirito, a mile or so outside the walls of Palermo, founded by Archbishop Walter in 1173, and known as "la Chiesa dei Vespri," the frightful massacres of the "Sicilian Vespers" having begun within its walls in 1182. (Fig. 308.) The nave arcades have a peculiar character, the plain pointed arches springing from low, stout columns without other capital than a heavy slab or abacus, and resting on bases of very rude and elementary form. The choir occupies the eastern half of the church, and is divided from the western half by strong square piers in the line of the nave arcades, which carry three transverse arches across the nave and aisles. The arcades continue throughout the whole length, but the arches of the choir rest on plain square piers without capital or base. The choir has a wooden roof, of which the ridge runs north and south. The exterior shows on the north flank of the aisle and the transept end a pointed blind arcade, with a window in every other arch; and an inlay of black and yellow marbles in the spandrils and in the frieze of the transept. On the east end an intersecting arcade of black marble runs around all the apses. (Fig. 309.)

[1] In a side chapel of the cathedral are four sarcophagi of porphyry which contain the ashes of King Roger and members of his family. That of King Roger is borne on the shoulders of kneeling Saracens. Two of the sarcophagi were brought from the cathedral at Cefalù, where the great king had prepared them for his own burial. Gally Knight, p. 251.

Fig. 307. Palermo. East End of Cathedral.

A monastery was connected with this, as with nearly all the Sicilian churches, which was occupied by the Cistercians until the fourteenth century.[1]

We come now to the latest and most splendid of all the monuments of the Norman rule in Sicily, the cathedral of Monreale. It was founded in 1176 by the young king William the Good, then in his twenty-second year, who had already, five years before, begun the cathedral of Palermo. The act of foundation is still preserved, in which the founder sets forth that "before and above all the splendor and all the grace with which the King of kings has been pleased to invest his reign, he rejoices that it has been given him to erect an aula and found a basilica to the Supreme King, who has put the sceptre into his hand and protected his realm from all calamity."[2]

The church was rapidly built,[3] and in 1182 Pope Lucius III. made

[1] Mothes, p. 560.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 562.

[3] Some caution must be exercised here, as in many other instances, in accepting the contemporary record as to the time occupied in building. Boito points out the extreme

it the seat of an archbishopric, and congratulated William on having built in so short a time "so wonderful a temple, so richly endowed, and so nobly ornamented with gold and silver and costly fabrics, with a monastery so worthily peopled with monks, and the whole place so well furnished with buildings and all appurtenances that no king from the earliest days has ever before accomplished so great a work."

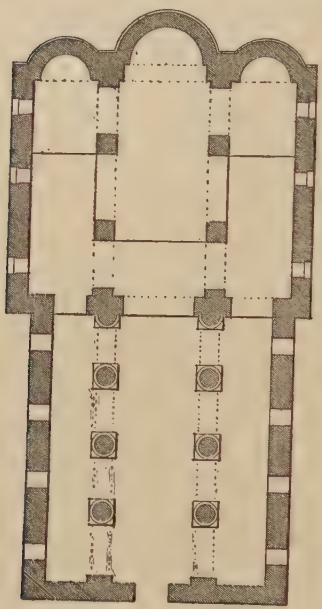

Fig. 308. Palermo. Chiesa dei Vespri.

The church was worthy of all the praise it received, and though it has shared to a certain extent the fate of many of the noblest works of the Middle Ages, and has suffered from decay, from fire, from restoration, still it may be said to present to-day in most essential respects the aspect which it wore at the end of the twelfth century.

The plan (Fig. 310) is very similar to that of the cathedrals of Palermo and Cefalù, but the superiority of the eastern portion of the church over the nave and aisles is even more pronounced than in those churches. The nave arcades are each of eight pointed arches, much less stilted than in the examples above cited, and narrower in proportion to their height, supported on columns of Oriental granite, with capitals very various in design, of which most or all are believed to have been taken from older buildings; nine of them, of a florid composite character, with figures in the centre of the faces and cornucopias occupying the place of volutes, have been thought to have belonged to a temple of Ceres. (Fig. 311.) All the capitals are capped by very large stilt-blocks, a rare feature in the Norman churches. The flat clerestory has a large pointed window over each of the nave arches. The nave opens into the transept, as at Cefalù and Palermo, by a pointed triumphal arch with a soffit nearly nine feet broad. A peculiar arrangement is observable at the end of the

improbability that such a church was built and decorated in six years. Similarly in the case of the cathedral of Cefalù, of which the diploma of Hugo, archbishop of Messina, says the first stone was laid at Pentecost in 1131, while King Roger, writing in March, 1132, ten months later, speaks of it as complete.

nave arcades, where the final column stands free, and is followed by a piece of wall some thirteen feet long, against which on either side abut the five steps which rise to the floor of the transept, and which extend across the whole breadth of nave and aisles. This wall is pierced on each side the nave by a narrow arch "for the passage of monks," indicating perhaps some peculiarity in the service not now apparent.

The transept, considerably broader than the nave, and projecting well beyond the aisle walls, is divided, by broad pointed arches continuing the line of the nave arcades, into three oblong bays, beyond which are three rectangular bays interposed between the transept and the apses, connected transversely by pointed arches, and forming as at Palermo a sort of bema, extending quite across the church. (See Frontispiece.) From its three bays open the three apsidal tribunes, that in the centre preceded by still another narrow rectangular bay. This arrangement, by which the length from the triumphal arch to the extremity of the central apse is very nearly equal to the length of the nave, taken in connection with the unusual height to which the choir and the central apse are carried above the roof of the nave and transept (the central apse is eighty-five feet high to the crown of its vault), gives to the eastern portion of the church an extraordinary importance compared with the western portion. There is no lantern, and none seems to have been intended. There is no characteristic treatment of the crossing, which, like all the

Fig. 309. Palermo. Chiesa dei Vespri.

other parts of the church except the apses, is covered by an open wooden roof of low pitch, brilliantly decorated with gold and color. The roof of the crossing ends in a low gable to the east and west, and below it on three sides are small windows above the roofs of nave and transepts.

The plan of the church still includes the western porch of three arches between square angle towers, but the great atrium with its enclosing arcades was removed in 1569 by Cardinal Alexander Farnese. A portion of its columns were used in building an arcade on the north flank of the church, connecting the northern tower of the façade with the projecting transept. Various other mutilations and a century or two of neglect brought this noble church, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, to a somewhat ruinous condition, which was further increased by the breaking out of a fire in 1811, which destroyed the roofs of the choir and its side chapels and much of the interior decoration, columns, marble plates, mosaics, etc. The church was then taken in hand, and during the second quarter of the century was very carefully and conscientiously repaired and restored.[1]

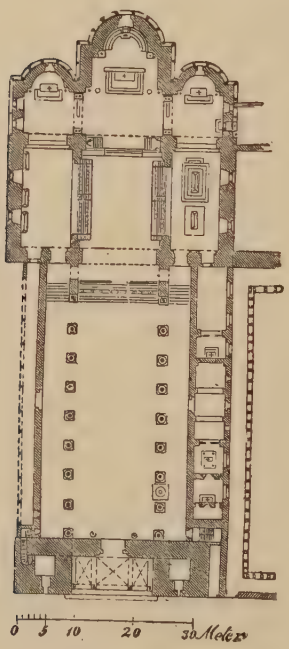

Fig. 310. Monreale. Cathedral.

Externally the cathedral of Monreale has much resemblance to that of Cefalù. This resemblance is particularly marked in the façade, where the two square flanking towers, projecting well forward on front and sides enclose between them a deep porch with three broad, stilted, pointed arches supported on columns. Above the porch the wall is crossed by an interlacing blind arcade of pointed arches, in the middle of which is a single plain pointed window. The wall at the back of the porch has an elaborate but not beautiful central doorway, with three orders of jamb columns and arches, enclosing the famous bronze doors of Bonanno of Pisa, already described in a previous chapter. Of the

[1] Boito tells us that between the years 1811 and 1859 nearly half a million ducats were spent on the restorations, of which sum about thirty thousand ducats were given to the repairing of the mosaics. Boito, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

Fig. 311. Monreale. Interior of Cathedral.

towers at the angles of the façade, that on the north is unfinished; the south tower is in five stages: the lowest is quite plain, the next two have a single pointed window in each face, while the two upper stages have coupled arched openings, divided by a shaft and enclosed by a pointed bearing arch. The whole is crowned by a low pyramidal spire.

The flanks are interesting. The wall of the south aisle shows over the cloister a range of pointed windows surrounded by thin bands of mosaic, and between the windows broader arches formed by a similar ornament, but not recessed, and enclosing circular patterns of geometrical mosaic, with horizontal bands of the same character. A frieze of inlay runs beneath the cornice. The whole composition is very rich and delicate. The clerestory wall, on the other hand (probably of later date), is absolutely plain, with single pointed windows and an arched corbel-table at the eaves.

The east end is, however, the most characteristic portion of the church, as it is also that in which the characteristic decoration of the period and style is most lavishly displayed. It is certainly one of the most striking compositions in Italy. Its similarity in style to the corresponding portion of the cathedral of Palermo is perfect, but the treatment is different in some respects, and there are no flanking

towers. The three apses cover the whole frontage of one hundred and thirty feet, the central apse projecting forward of the others and rising above them by an additional stage. The entire surface of the eastern façade is covered by a series of blind interlacing arcades of pointed arches, two stages of which run across the whole frontage, while a third covers the upper wall of the central apse; and it is the treatment of these arcades which gives the composition its peculiar and characteristic effect. The arches are emphasized not by mouldings but by broad bands, which in the lowest stage are made up of plain voussoirs continuing equally plain pilaster strips without base or capital. The effect, it must be confessed, is far from beautiful. In the two upper stages the arches spring from small engaged colonnettes, which in the principal stage are raised on simple pedestals as high as the columns, much as in the apse of Cefalù. In both the upper stages the bands which enclose the arches, as well as the pedestals which support the columns, are covered with a geometrical inlay of marble in two colors and of a fine and delicate pattern, and the arches, which are highly stilted, enclose smaller arches treated in a similar manner. The wall is further enriched by horizontal bands and circles of the same character. There are few examples in Europe of an exterior possessing a surface decoration of equal richness and extent.[1] (Fig. 312.)

In its interior decoration this church is surpassingly magnificent, and can be reasonably compared only with the Royal Chapel of King Roger and with St. Mark's at Venice. The scheme is precisely that of the Cappella Palatina, and it cannot be said that the decoration of the chapel is excelled in beauty by that of the cathedral. But the superior size and height of the latter necessarily enhance the effect. The walls are lined, as in the Cappella Palatina, and to the height of twenty-two feet, with narrow vertical slabs of white or nearly white marble, enclosed in borders of marble inlay, and with a frieze of mosaic. Above this all the interior surfaces of walls and arches, including the jambs of the windows and the soffits of the arches, are covered with mosaics. On the smaller surfaces this is of a geometrical character,[2] as are also the broad bands surrounding the arches, and running horizontally under the clerestory windows. The mosaics of the walls and vaults are pictorial, the subjects being, for

[1] Mothes, remarking on the effect of this front, says the inlay is largely of asphaltum and that the general impression is greatly heightened by the mellow tone of the wall-stone, upon which the white marble columns are relieved with great beauty (p. 566).

[2] Yet not always so. Some of the arch soffits have circles enclosing saints.

the most part, scenes from the Old and New Testaments; a single range covering the wall spaces between the windows of the aisles, two ranges the clerestory wall, three ranges the walls of the transept ends, while upon the high walls of the central bay are five ranges of subjects, divided by bands of geometrical mosaic. At the summit of the clerestory wall is a broad frieze composed of a series of circles enclosing half-length figures of angels. The whole vault of the middle apse is occupied as at Cefalù by a gigantic half-length figure of Christ, which dominates the whole church. Below it, on the circular wall of the apse, are two rows of standing figures of saints.

It is to be remarked that the mosaics of Monreale, though perhaps not superior in color and general decorative effect to the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina and to those of the Martorana and the

Fig. 312. Monreale. General View of Cathedral.

cathedral of Cefalù, show a distinct advance in drawing and in mechanical execution over the earlier work.[1]

[1] Gravina thus describes the method employed in Sicily in the execution of the mosaics as being at once very expeditious and calculated to ensure permanency. A coat of fine lime mortar is spread on the wall, upon which, while it is still fresh, the picture is broadly painted in fresco in its proper colors. The painter is immediately followed by the mosaicist with his cubes, which are imbedded in the soft mortar and pressed to an even surface. Gravina, *Il duomo di Monreale*, text, p. 78.

As in the Cappella Palatina, the decoration of this noble interior is carried into the minor details. The beautiful pierced balustrade of the chancel, the faces or risers of the steps of the altar and of some of the doorways, are examples not less noteworthy than the mosaic pavement of the chancel.[1] Several of the interior doorways are enclosed by triple bands of Cosmati work, of great delicacy and beauty.[2]

The monastery which the good king founded at Monreale in connection with the cathedral was very extensive and splendid, covering with the church a rectangle of about three hundred and sixty by four hundred and sixty feet, enclosed by a great wall with towers. Little is, however, left of the conventual buildings except the cloister, which lies on the south side of the church, and which was perhaps in its best estate, in respect of its mosaic and sculpture, the finest in Italy. It is a square of about one hundred and forty feet, enclosed by arcaded galleries with twenty-six pointed arches on each side, supported on coupled columns, of which each alternate pair have plain shafts, the others being decorated with mosaics in vertical flutes or spirals or chevrons. The capitals, which in each couple are joined by a common and very high abacus, are infinitely varied, most of them having groups of figure sculpture with animated action, mingled with florid foliage, not of the purest design. At the angles of the square the columns are in groups of four, and the shafts are covered with reliefs of beautiful and varied design rather Byzantine in character, while the capitals, joined like those of the other columns by a common abacus, are still more elaborate and florid. The arch heads are, like every other portion of this admirable cloister, of extreme richness, the bands between the mouldings being adorned with mosaics. The relation between the arches and their supporting columns is very singular. The inner arch moulding is a large roll, which is wholly outside the abacus on each side, and hangs in the air without support. (Figs. 314, 315.) The peculiar unreasonableness of such an arrangement has led some writers[3] to maintain that the arches were originally supported by piers, with engaged columns on the sides, corresponding to the roll-mouldings of the arches, and that the piers were removed by the Norman builders and replaced by the coupled columns which we see. The suggestion is not altogether

[1] Dehli, pl. iii., *et seq.*

[2] Dehli, pls. i., ii.

[3] Notably Gravina, whose monumental work on the cathedral of Monreale is somewhat lessened in value by the fondness of its author for startling and ill-founded theories.

unnatural, from one point of view, but it fails to remove the difficulty, since it is as easy to imagine the fault to belong to the original design as to a reconstruction, and there is no other evidence that the parts of the cloister were not contemporaneous. Furthermore, a similar awkwardness is to be seen in the cloisters of Cefalù, and in those of the church of Santa Trinità, known as the Maggione, at Palermo, a small church contemporary with the cathedral.

The lavatory of the monks is in one angle of the square, and is a graceful feature of this beautiful cloister, with its own little square enclosed by three arches on each side.[1]

I have said that little remains of the buildings of the monastery with the exception of the cloister. There are, however, some fragments of the south and west sides of the enclosing square, which

Fig. 313. Monreale. Cloisters.

show above the arcades of the cloister. On the south, the wall is in two stories separated by a narrow band of inlay. The lower story

[1] The enclosed square of these cloisters is laid out as a beautiful garden, with fountains rising amid oranges and palms, presenting a strong contrast to the sombre cloisters of the Northern cathedrals, — the whole effect here being gay rather than grave. — "a sort of monastic Alhambra," to use the words of Dantier.

has a range of narrow blind arches, coupled, with dividing columns, — the upper a tall blind arcade of pointed arches surrounded by mouldings, each arch enclosing a coupled arch divided by columns, as in the lower story, the alternate couples being pierced for windows. The west arm has the look of older work, and consists of a continuous arcade of high narrow pointed arches of rude masonry, without mouldings, with a single window in the upper half of each alternate arch.[1]

It is an interesting indication of the novel elegance and refinement of the civilization which marked the period of the Norman rule in Sicily, that here, for the first time since the decay of Rome, we find the remains of a domestic architecture which is fit to take rank with the architecture of the church. Up to this time the only domestic architecture in Europe, with very rare exceptions, has been that of the military castles and strongholds of the kings and feudal lords. But in Sicily the example of the luxurious Arabs was too attractive to be resisted, and during the long interval of tranquillity which succeeded the Norman conquest, the arts which had been everywhere so lavishly employed in the service of the

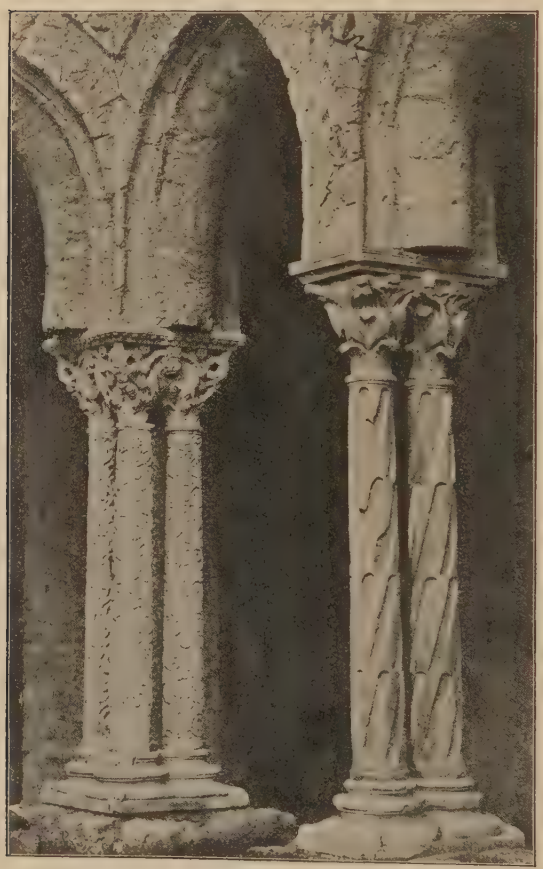

Fig. 314. Monreale. Cloisters.

[1] Gravina, *Il duomo di Monreale*, pl. iii.

church were turned to account also in beautifying and softening the domestic life of the time. Palermo, in particular, became a second Cordova, with palaces, villas, and pleasure pavilions standing in parks and gardens with fountains and statues; a ring of gardens surrounded the city, with trees of every species, and flowers and running water. Of the royal palace of Palermo, the work of successive reigns, little, as I have said, now remains except the beautiful chapel. But the single tower which still stands, of the original construction, the Torre della Ninfa (Fig. 316), a massive square four stories in height, with broad and lofty pointed blind arches enclosing simple windows, contains a large hall which bears witness to the interior luxury of the king's houses, even as early as the first quarter of the twelfth century. It is covered by a groined vault, the ribs of which spring from small columns in the four angles. One wall is pierced by pointed arched windows; two others, as well as the vaulted ceiling, are adorned with mosaics. Other fragments of the palace are still to be seen; among them a Saracenic vault covering the observatory, and portions of the exterior wall to the south, showing three stages, the upper faced by a tall blind arcade of narrow pointed interlacing arches on engaged colonnettes, and something like a Venetian battlement crowning the wall. Descriptions more or less flowery and doubtful, by contemporary writers (as Falcandus and Ibn Dschobair, cited by Mothes, p. 531), give us dim notions of what the palace was in the twelfth century, with its flanking towers, —

Fig. 315. Monreale. Cloisters.

Torre Pisana, Torre Greca, etc., — its banquet halls and state apartments in the central building, its offices for business and clerical work in the wings, its courtyard laid out as a garden and enclosed by arcaded galleries in which magistrates and official personages strolled and took their refreshment.

But we are fortunately not left without more complete and authentic evidence as to the character of the civil architecture of this period. A group of buildings are still standing, in more or less ruinous condition, quite distinct and homogeneous in style, and as perfectly characteristic and apart from those of any other age or country as are the contemporary churches of Sicily. With regard to most of these buildings, it has until recently been held, from the extent to which the Saracenic forms and particularly the Saracenic decoration enter into their design, that they belong to the period before the Norman occupation. But it now seems tolerably clear that they are the work of the Normans, though doubtless carried out with the help of the Arab artists and perhaps of Arab workmen.

Almost the only building which can with certainty be referred to the period of Saracenic rule is that of the baths at Cefalà,[1] a large rectangular block about ninety feet long with high walls, without conspicuous features except a plain broad pointed entrance doorway, and a frieze with a very decorative Saracenic inscription enclosed between two carved string courses of Byzantine design, and carried quite around the building. Above this is an additional stage of more modern construction. Within is a great hall covered by a simple pointed barrel vault pierced with numerous circular openings for light and ventilation. The hall is unequally divided by a screen of three broad high-stilted pointed arches, perfectly plain, carried on slender columns. A basin occupies the floor of each division.[2]

The characteristics of this simple but admirable building are with slight modifications the characteristics of all the group of Norman civic buildings to which I have alluded. The earliest of these were two pleasure palaces which King Roger II. built about 1120 in the eastern and western suburbs of Palermo, for use in summer and winter respectively, and of which one known as La Favara or Maredolce, the winter palace, is still to be seen in a much ruined condition. It was an extensive building, with a frontage of some one hundred and fifty feet, rectangular in plan, and presenting on the exterior the high unbroken walls with a series of tall blind pointed

[1] Some twenty miles south of Palermo ; not to be confounded with Cefalù.

[2] Mothes, p. 547 ; Gally Knight, *Norman Remains in Sicily*, pl. iv.

Fig. 316. Palermo. Torre della Ninfa.

arches in three orders without columns or other ornament, which characterize all the buildings of its class. A chapel occupies a portion of one side, which shows some interesting and unusual features. It is a rectangle (Fig. 317) scarcely more than sixteen feet wide and thirty-five feet long, three quarters of its length covered by a groined vault, and terminated by a solid wall, in the middle of which an arch opens into a small sanctuary. Of this apartment the centre is covered by a Byzantine dome about nine feet in diameter on a very high drum, which rises two stages above the vault of the nave and is flanked by a high barrel vault on each side. A ring of sixteen small windows surrounds the base of the dome itself. The walls and vaults are quite bare. In a wing of the palace are the ruins of a building for vapor-baths, of which the tall chimneys are still standing. The palace stood in the midst of grounds planted with citrons, oranges, and palms, and the whole was enclosed within a great moat, which was utilized as a fish-pond, some two hundred and fifty feet broad, over which, as we are told by an Arab writer of the twelfth century (Benjamin of Tudela), floated the gilded gondolas of the king and the ladies of his court. The same admiring observer also records that the walls of the palace were "adorned with gold and silver, and with mosaics representing all things on earth."

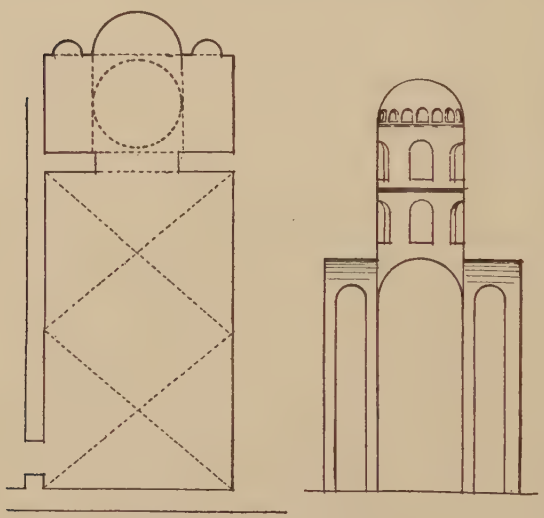

Fig. 317. Chapel of La Favara.

The summer palace known as Minenio, on the other side of the city, was long believed to exist only in the descriptions of contemporary chroniclers. But in 1855 the remains of it, overgrown with vegetation, were discovered and identified in a garden some two miles west of Palermo. They show the same rectangular mass, the same pointed blind arcades on the exterior, with fragments of a Cufic inscription above, which we find to be characteristic of

Fig. 318. Palermo. La Zisa.

this class of buildings; and on the interior, traces of decorated vaults and walls of marked Saracenic character.[1]

The more familiar examples of this Norman-Saracenic style are the two palaces which are now known to have been built by the son and grandson of King Roger, — William the Bad and William the Good, — the Zisa and the Cuba. Both these interesting buildings are valuable, not only in themselves, but from the testimony they bear to the readiness with which the Normans availed themselves of the Arabian genius for luxurious and elegant domestic architecture and the kindred arts, especially the art of formal landscape gardening and the use of water.

The Zisa, which stands a mile or more outside the western gate of Palermo, is still in a tolerably good condition. It is a rectangular block of buildings of squared stone, with but little mortar, and measuring on the ground about one hundred and fifteen by sixty-two feet, with a height of eighty feet. (Fig. 318.) This height is divided into three nearly equal stories, separated by light moulded string-courses, the lowest story showing on the principal front three pointed arched doorways, the central one an open arch thirty feet high and fifteen feet broad, rising well into the second story. These arches are without ornament, but in the central arch the inner order is carried on coupled jamb columns of fine marble, no more than a third the

[1] Mothes, p. 532.

height of the arch, which thus appears stilted to an exaggerated degree. The upper stories have each a range of blind arches very slightly pointed, four in the second story and seven in the third, nearly twenty feet high. In the lower half of each arch was originally a coupled pointed window, with a smaller window between the arch heads. These have all been walled up or replaced by large and plain openings. The wall was crowned by a parapet, the divisions

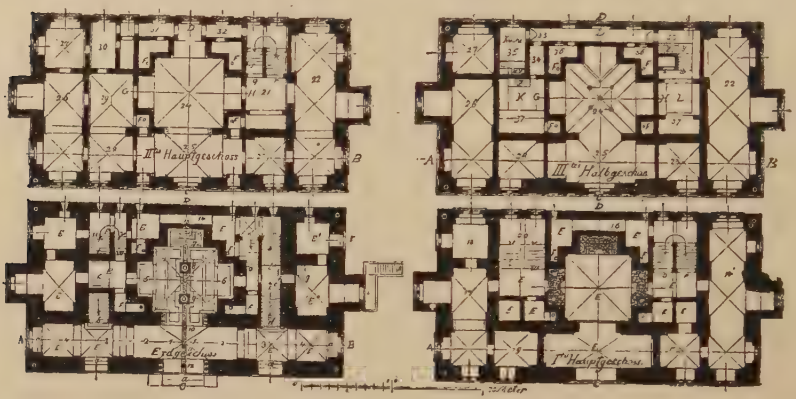

Fig. 319. Palermo. Story Plans of La Zisa.

of which were filled by Arabic inscriptions in the Cufic character, extremely decorative in effect, and enclosed, as in the baths at Cefal, between two horizontal bands of Byzantine carving. All this has disappeared.

The interior amply atoned for the plainness of the exterior. The central arch of entrance leads through a vaulted vestibule into a hall about twenty-two feet square occupying the centre of the building, to which a deep rectangular recess on each of three sides gives nearly the plan of a Greek cross. These recesses are covered by highly decorated Saracenic vaults, precisely in the manner of the Alcazar at Seville or the Alhambra at Granada, and their walls were faced with mosaic and plates of marble. The recess opposite the entrance was occupied by a fountain, from which a stream of water was led in a marble channel across the floor of the hall, with two small basins intercepting its course. The central hall and vestibule have the height of two stories, and their walls were enriched by bands of floral and geometrical mosaic, varied in the vestibule by Cufic inscriptions. Much of this decoration is still in fairly good condition, but the rest of the interior has been entirely stripped of all ornament.

(Fig. 320.) The space on the sides of the building is divided into apartments of varying size and shape on the three floors, communicating with each other by ample staircases on either side of the central hall. (Fig. 319.) The palace stood in the midst of pleasure grounds. Opposite its main entrance was a fish-pond surrounding a square pavilion which has now disappeared, but which was presumably much like that of the Cuba, which still remains.[1]

The palace of the Cuba (from El Kubbah, the dome) built by the second William about 1180, in the midst of a charming park adjacent to the southwestern gate of Palermo, and which has now disappeared, has much the same architectural character as the Zisa, and a very similar plan. It is somewhat smaller, measuring on the ground one hundred and fifteen by fifty-eight feet, with a height of fifty-five feet, and with a rectangular projection in the middle of each front. The blind arcades of the Zisa are repeated here, but in a single range covering the whole height of the wall, and the parapet bore an Arabic

Fig. 320. La Zisa. Interior Decoration.

inscription ascribing glory and honor to William II., "the best of kings, of whom no castle can be worthy," and giving the date of the

[1] Mothes, p. 551; Salazaro, ii., pl. xxiv. See, also, Dantier, i., p. 227.

building as 1182. Small grouped windows are set in the blind arches, but so irregularly placed that no clear notion can be formed from them of the interior disposition of the apartments, beyond the general division of the space into a square hall in the centre occupying the full depth of the building, and smaller rooms on each side as in the Zisa.

The basement wall of the palace, of rough hewn stone, bears witness to its original position in the midst of a great basin of water.[1] This building and its adjacent grounds are now degraded to the uses of an artillery barrack.

Of the various pavilions with which the grounds of the Cuba were adorned, only one remains, known as La Cubola; but this is extremely characteristic. It is a square of about twenty-five feet, with a broad and high open pointed arch on each side, in three orders, of which the middle one is composed of a singular cylindrical ornament much like what may be seen in the Martorana and on the front of the cathedral at Cefalù. The arches occupy nearly the whole height of the wall, which is crowned by a simple parapet, above which rises an absolutely plain hemispherical dome. On the interior, above the great arches, are eight smaller arches, four on the sides and four at the angles, which bring the plan to an octagon, from which springs the dome, the inner surface of which is divided into eight panels by flat bands simply ornamented, which rise from the cornice to the crown of the dome.[2] The whole composition is marked by great elegance and refinement. (Fig. 321.)

With the death of William the Good in 1189, the development of the characteristic architecture of the Normans in Sicily — that architecture, which, compounded of so many elements brought from various directions, and growing out of various civilizations, was yet in itself so harmonious and complete — may be said to have come to an end. Its existence covers a period of little more than half a century, yet in that space of time it had exhibited a logical consistency, a union of strength and grace, hardly less remarkable than was shown by the Byzantine style in Sta. Sofia or San Marco. I have spoken of its development. But strictly speaking, the style had no development. The earliest examples of it, as the cathedral of Cefalù and the Cappella Palatina, are as characteristic as the greater churches of Palermo and Monreale. No architecture ever expressed more fully and clearly the peculiar character of its age

[1] Gally Knight, *op. cit.*, pl. iii.; Mothes, p. 572.
[2] Gally Knight, *op. cit.*, pls. i., ii.

and people, and none was ever more dependent on and coincident with a single dynasty. It is easy to trace a natural connection as of cause and effect between the unexampled civilization of this remarkable episode of history and the architecture which it produced. The strength of the Norman, the fineness of the Greek, the luxury and grace of the Arabian, were exhibited not more conspicuously in the social and political fabric which grew up under the Rogers and the Williams than in the churches and palaces which they left to their unworthy posterity. For this brilliant architecture, like that of the dynasty from which it sprung, was but an episode. It was without progenitors and without descendants.[1]

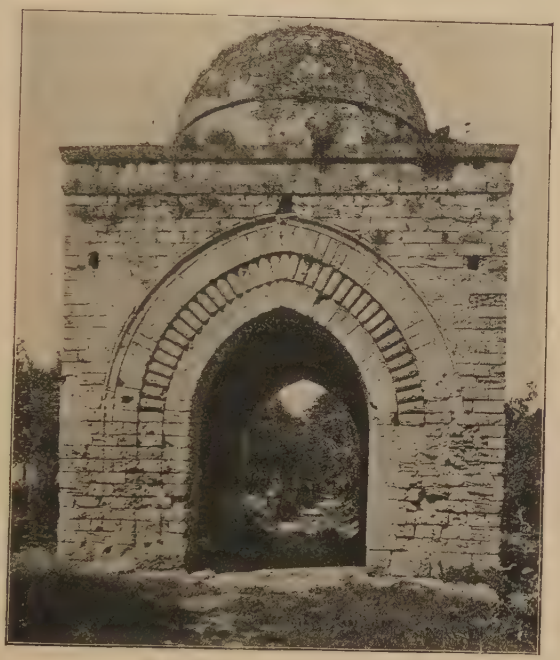

Fig. 321. La Cubola.

The splendid kingdom which Roger had established, and which his successors had illustrated, went down, smothered under the dull weight of German invasion. The arts which they had protected and cherished were despised and forgotten; the Saracens were persecuted, the Jews were expelled. After the death of the second William, the internal peace and security which his kingdom had enjoyed for a half century were broken by the war of succession, which ended in 1197 in the accession of Frederick II., and which was followed during his minority by constant and violent disturbances among the

[1] I do not forget the slightly earlier churches, such as the Martorana, San Cataldo, and San Giovanni degli Eremiti, in which the Normans allowed themselves to follow the traditions of the native races whom they found in possession. But I do not consider these as belonging strictly in the category of the Norman churches, which I take to include those only in which the basilican plan formed the basis of the composition, however modified and transformed by the influence of the native races.

now discordant races of the population. All important building was practically suspended for a generation or more. When it was at length resumed, the style had lost the characteristics of the earlier and better days of the kingdom. For though the persecution of Jews and Saracens had not been continued by Frederick, yet under the exclusive favor which he bestowed on the Lombard element in his population, the other elements steadily declined. The partial revival of architecture in the fourteenth century saw another style, the style of the Palazzo dei Tribunali at Palermo, in which the Saracenic element had well-nigh disappeared, while the half military and massive construction of the Northern cities had taken the place of the lightness and elegance of the older style.

CHAPTER VII

THE MONASTERIES

The early years of the sixth century saw the rapid growth in Italy of a class of institutions which grew eventually to be among the most important in history, in their relation to the social, political, and religious life of the people, and scarcely less so in their influence upon their intellectual and artistic development. These were the monasteries, which from the smallest and humblest origin in the retreats of solitary men, disgusted and satiated with the wild and violent life of the age, became later the seats of the richest and most powerful associations known to history.

The Christian monastery had its origin in the mountains and deserts of Syria and Egypt, where as early as the fourth century many men were found glad to retire from the world and devote themselves to a life of meditation and abstinence in caves or cells. The austerity of the solitary or hermit life was imitated with more or less strictness by others similarly inclined, who were nevertheless glad to associate themselves in a religious company. These were called monks, and their numbers increased rapidly in all the provinces of the lower empire, until at the end of the fourth century the monastery or cenobium had became a recognized institution of the Greek church, whose daily life and government were regulated by the constitution or "rule" drawn up by St. Basilius. Substantially the same history was repeated among the peoples of Western Europe, but the organization of the Western monasteries was of somewhat later date. The perfected system, beginning in the fourth century under Athanasius, Ambrose, and Hilary, was, however, chiefly the work of St. Benedict, from whom, towards the middle of the sixth century, monasticism in Italy took its first strong impulse.

Benedict, born in Nursia, in the Umbrian region, in 480, of a noble Roman family, studied deeply at Rome, became at the age of fourteen an ascetic, and shortly retired to the wild solitudes of the mountains about Subiaco, some forty miles to the east of Rome, where he fixed his lonely abode in a cave of the rocks. His retreat

was in no long time invaded by others with desires similar to his own, and their numbers increased to such an extent that Benedict was obliged to provide for them by building simple houses in which they could be disposed. Twelve monasteries were thus formed in the neighborhood of Subiaco, each with twelve monks presided over by an abbot. His sister Scolastica joined him, and assisted him in his labors. Senators and patricians sent him their sons to educate. Here the saint lived for thirty-five years, until, having excited the dangerous enmity of certain monks of a neighboring monastery, he fled southward to Monte Cassino, halfway between Rome and Naples, where he established a new monastery which was destined to become the richest and most powerful in Europe and to be recognized as the capital of the monastic order. Two small oratories were first built, and dedicated, one to St. John Baptist, the other to St. Martin; and around these grew up year by year the accessory buildings which were needful for the orderly life of the monastery. It was here that Benedict founded the great order which was to bear his name, and here that he drew up and promulgated the rule or constitution by which it was governed through seven centuries of varying experience and growth. Here he passed the last fourteen years of his life, and here, in 543, he died.

The monasteries which Benedict had founded became the model on which other similar institutions were established, not only in Italy, but all over Western Europe.[1] One of the earliest and most interesting was the monastery, founded about 538, at Vivaria, on the eastern shore of Calabria near Squillace, by Cassiodorus, the minister of Theodoric, and several of his successors. Cassiodorus had grown old in noble efforts to improve the politics of his time, and at the age of seventy retired from the world as Benedict had done in his youth, and gave the remainder of his life, which was prolonged for nearly thirty years, to the establishment and development of his great monastery. The numerous disciples who followed him into his retreat were provided for in two fine buildings, while many isolated cells were constructed higher up on the mountain side for those who preferred a solitary life. "He made his monastery," says Montalembert, "a kind of Christian academy and the principal centre of the literary activity of his time. He collected there an immense library, and imposed on his monks a complete and severe plan of study."

[1] "The Benedictine institute was carried to Sicily in 534, to France in 543, to Spain a little later, and at the end of the century to Germany and England." *Enc. Brit.*, vol. xvi.

The founders of the monasteries were, as a rule, from the high feudal nobility, and to a considerable extent the abbots who governed them, and even the monks by whom they were peopled, were from the same class. "From the eighth to the thirteenth century," says the Count de Montalembert, "all the monasteries in Europe, except the small number which owed their existence to the piety of kings, were founded by the feudal aristocracy, in the sense that they received from the hands of the nobles the territorial endowments which were necessary for their support. But these nobles were not content with founding abbeys and endowing them richly; they themselves entered them in crowds, they peopled them with their bravest and most illustrious children. In return, the monasteries opened their doors to all travellers and strangers, whatever might be their origin or destination. Abbeys were the principal inns of the time." [1]

During the dismal centuries which followed the downfall of the Roman Empire, the monasteries seem to have afforded the only havens of quiet and peaceful life in the midst of the universal flood of savage barbarism under which the civilization of Italy had gone down. There are, indeed, if we look closely, indications in the general history of the time that the spirit of humanity was not altogether extinct. I have already alluded to the charities of the Lombard kings. We have seen that in their code of laws the commercial and industrial classes were recognized and protected. There was then, in spite of the uninterrupted prevalence of war in its most brutal and cruel form, such a thing as civil life, and some regard for the decencies of existence. To foster these better tendencies, — to keep alive in the general darkness the faint light of an almost extinct civilization — was the work of the monasteries. The rule of Benedict shows us very clearly that the life of the monk in the cloister was not wholly that of the recluse who, on retiring from the world, withdraws from it the activity and the useful work of which he is capable. Article after article inculcates the duty of labor. To every hour of the day is assigned its own duty. Much of the labor was doubtless of an humble sort, which served the daily common needs of the community. But apart from these duties a large portion of the time and energy of the monks was given to the work of education. Few persons realize in our day the extent to which this work was carried by the monks of the Middle Ages. As regards both the useful and the liberal arts, the monasteries filled, through

[1] Montalembert, *The Monks of the West*, vi., p. 115.

all the centuries which preceded the revival of learning, the place of universities. "In every monastery there was established, first, a library, then great studios, where, to increase the number of books, skilful calligraphers transcribed manuscripts; and finally schools, open to all who had need of or desire for instruction. Public instruction was almost entirely centred in the cloister, and was thence abundantly distributed to all who claimed it; thither gathered a crowd of students from all ranks and from all countries."[1]

The advantages of this instruction were not limited to those intending to become monks or to enter the service of the church, but were open to laymen with equal freedom. The same may be said of the convents of women, where "schools were maintained in which were trained not only the future novices, but also numbers of young girls destined for the life of courts or the world." Neither were the monasteries merely the conservators and teachers of the classic literature.[2] They were schools of agriculture, road-making, and the draining of marshes, — of handicrafts, such as book-binding and the mounting of gems, of philosophy, government and civil law, and finally of art. Benedict had provided for the employment and encouragement of artists in his monasteries, and had exhorted them to reverence and humility in the practice of art; and in accordance with his precept the Benedictine abbeys early "contained not only schools and libraries, but also studios where architecture, painting, sculpture, mosaic, engraving, calligraphy, ivory-carving, and various purely ornamental or decorative arts were studied and pursued with equal ardor and success."[3]

Among these branches of art, the most serious and productive study was given to that which includes all the rest, namely architecture. For eight centuries the practice of this art was carried on by the monks, by whom very many of the conventual and ecclesiastical buildings of the Middle Ages all over Europe, down to the thirteenth century, were not only designed, but executed.[4] For the monks

[1] Montalembert, *The Monks of the West*, vi., p. 156.

[2] Though in this respect alone their services were of inestimable importance. The libraries of the great monasteries were their chief pride and glory, and the increase and, protection of the manuscripts was their most worthy ambition. "In the ninth century,' says Montalembert, "during the wars which ravaged Lombardy, most of the treasures which are now the pride of the Ambrosian library were being collected in the abbey of Bobbio. The monastery of Pomposa, near Ravenna, had, according to contemporaries, a finer library than those of Rome or any other town in the world." And "the principal and most constant occupation of the learned Benedictine nuns was the transcription of manuscripts." *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[3] Montalembert, vi., p. 218. [4] Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, vol. ii., p. 101.

"were not only architects, but masons, and executed their own designs generally without the aid of stranger workmen."

The multiplication of monasteries went on with surprising rapidity. For five hundred years the Benedictines had the field to themselves, the Carthusians following only in the eleventh century, the Cistercians in the twelfth, and the Franciscans and Dominicans in the thirteenth. At the end of the sixth century there was scarcely a church in Rome of considerable importance which had not its monastery or nunnery attached. In the time of Leo III. (795–816), Rome alone contained not less than forty of these institutions. They attached themselves to all the great basilicas; the Vatican included three monasteries before the middle of the eighth century, and Stephen II. added a fourth.[1] As their number increased, privileges and honors were bestowed unequally upon them. Twenty of the Roman monasteries were especially distinguished in this regard in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and their abbots walked in the processions of the great festivals of the church, with the abbots of St. Paul and St. Lawrence at their head.

But the monasteries which were directly under the protection of the Pope appear to have been much less distinguished by the liberality of their administration, and by the character and learning of their monks, than those at a distance from the capital.[2] In these respects the Lombard monasteries were eminent. At Milan and Pavia, grammar, dialectics, and jurisprudence were taught; at Benevento and Salerno, rhetoric and history. At Bobbio, the great monastery founded in 612 by the Irish monk Columbanus, under the protection of the Lombard king Agilulf, the study of classic literature became the distinguishing feature, and the library grew in the tenth century to be perhaps the most valuable in Italy.[3] On the other hand, it was in the monastery of Sta. Scolastica at Subiaco that the two German monks, Sweynheim and Pannartz, pupils of Fust and Gutenberg, set up, in 1465, the first printing-press in Italy.

The monasteries, notwithstanding their sacred character, and the services which they rendered to all classes of the people, were by no means exempt from the dangers of the stormy times in which they

[1] Gregorovius, iii. 34–344.

[2] Yet Rome was not without her scholars, for it is recorded that Charlemagne took back with him to France, in 787, grammarians and arithmeticians, in order to establish schools.

[3] See, in regard to the dispersion of the treasures of this library, Dantier, *Les Monastères Bénédictins*, vol. ii., pp. 36–38.

existed. The earliest of them were the special objects of the hatred of the Lombards in their first fury of conquest, and before they had come under the softening influence of the Italian civilization. Monte Cassino was plundered by them in 580, and Subiaco in 601, at which time eleven out of the twelve monasteries of Benedict were destroyed. Later the Saracens, in repeated incursions as far north as Rome, ravaged the monasteries which lay in their path, and which had by that time grown sufficiently in wealth to make them a tempting prize for the freebooters. Subiaco was twice destroyed by them. In 884 they plundered the great monastery of Monte Cassino, killing the abbot at his altar. Six years later they besieged in force the imperial monastery of Farfa in the duchy of Spoleto, twenty miles north of Rome, one of the most beautiful and renowned among the monasteries of Italy. Abbot Peter stoutly defended his walls during seven years, and then, seeing himself incapable of further resistance, and despairing of relief, he sent off his treasures of all kinds, including the great library, to Rome, Fermo, and Rieti, destroyed the fine ciborium of the high altar, burying the onyx columns, and abandoned the monastery. The Turks took possession, but, struck with the beauty of the place, forbore to destroy it. What the Saracens spared, however, fell in no long time before the rage of the Christian marauders. The monastery was burned, and lay for thirty years in ruins. It was rebuilt by Abbot Roffred, and passed through a period of evil fame. A revolt arose among the monks, — the abbot was imprisoned by two of the leaders of the rebellion, who got possession of the goods of the monastery, and led a wild life there for some years.[1]

The history of Farfa is exceptional, no doubt; but it is easy to see that the greatest danger which beset the monastic institution arose, not from enemies without, but from corruption within. The monastery from modest beginnings grows gradually rich, — the temporal power concedes an ample territory around it, on which, under its protecting wing, villages grow up, hoping for a measure of safety from its neighborhood. The great feudal barons make gifts of castles and lands. Rich men and princes, tired of vanity and strife, come to end their days in the peace of the cloister, and dying, bequeath to it their possessions. The increase of wealth brings with it political influence. The abbots become powerful lords, making war like the secular barons.[2] The monastery is a power to be

[1] Gregorovius, iii., p. 342 (p. 467, further history of Farfa).

[2] "When an abbot died, a sword was laid by his side in the tomb."

reckoned with. The original impulse of simple piety is lost, and ambition and pride have come in to take its place.[1] The accumulation of wealth in the monasteries, and the growth in them of the spirit of luxury and worldly ambition,[2] effected a radical change in the life of those institutions and in their relations to the outside world, and prepared the way for their abolition.

The monastery was an institution whose usefulness depended on and arose out of the conditions of mediæval life. The Renaissance, with its new freedom of thought and action, with its extension and diffusion of knowledge and of power, and of the comforts and graces of life, speedily made men independent of the cloister and impatient of its methods. The suppression of the monasteries in all the Catholic countries of western Europe, which took place in the middle of the nineteenth century, was but the inevitable result of the progress of the modern spirit. The magnitude of the undertaking, as well as the unanimity of feeling which compelled the various governments to the step, is the best evidence of its necessity.[3] In Italy alone, the number of monasteries which had been suppressed, up to the year 1882, is given as 2225. As early as 1835, Spain abolished nine hundred at a single stroke; and Portugal, a year earlier, had suppressed five hundred.[4] Their example was followed by Piedmont in 1866, and in 1873, after the establishment of the kingdom of Italy, the law became operative over the whole of the peninsula. In all these cases, the property of the monastery was confiscated to the state, no exception being made in favor even of the most ancient or famous. Their inmates were dispersed, except where the monastery was converted into a charitable or educational establishment, in which case a few of the monks were commonly left in charge.

[1] "At the beginning of the fourteenth century the abbot of Monte Cassino, — then at the height of its material splendor, — was first baron of the kingdom of Naples, and administrator of a special diocese, composed of thirty-seven parishes. Among his dependencies were reckoned four bishoprics, two principalities, twenty counties, two hundred and fifty castles, four hundred and forty towns and villages, three hundred and thirty-six manors, twenty-three maritime ports, thirty-three islands, two hundred mills, three hundred territories, one thousand six hundred and sixty-two churches." Haeften, *Comment. in Vit. S. Bened.*, quoted in Mont., vi., 21.

At the end of the sixteenth century his income was reckoned at not less than 500,000 ducats. From this time the great monastery steadily declined.

[2] For some interesting remarks on the luxury and effeminacy of the monks in the time of Boccaccio, in dress, food, and manners, see Perrens, *La civilisation Florentine*, p. 104.

[3] A remark of Pius IX., in speaking to an English Roman Catholic bishop, is significant. "It was the Devil's work, but the good God will turn it into a blessing, since their destruction was the only reform possible to them."

[4] *Enc. Brit.*, vol. xvi., p. 715.

As the monastic life formed one of the most interesting and picturesque features of the general life of the Middle Ages, so the monastery in its full development was one of the most interesting and characteristic examples of the service of architecture to practical needs.

The germ of the monastery was, as we have said, the solitary cell of the recluse, to which in time others were successively added. To

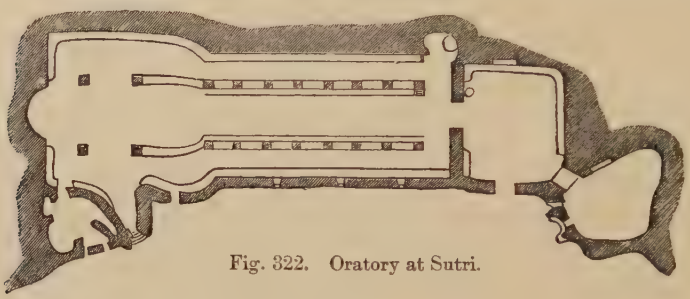

Fig. 322. Oratory at Sutri.

these, the first addition was the modest oratory for the devotions of the monks in company. This was commonly a small oblong building of the simplest form, quite without architectural character, not infrequently following the example of the earliest monastic cells and excavated from the rock. Examples of these excavated chapels are rarely met with in the northern and central regions of Italy.

There is, however, one at Sutri, thirty miles north of Rome, made out of an ancient Etruscan tomb, and having a square vestibule opening into what is in plan really a small basilica, with nave and aisles terminating in a more ample tribune with a shallow apse. (Fig. 322.)

In the southern provinces, in which the austerity of the early Benedictine monks was longer maintained, great numbers of ascetics belonging to the Greek church dwelt and worshipped in this manner even as late as the ninth and tenth centuries. In the eastern provinces of Calabria and Otranto especially, but also in the region of Amalfi and Capua to the west, many subterranean chapels and oratories are still to be found, with a distinctly architectural plan and often with corresponding architectural constructive features, and of which the walls and vaults are decorated with frescoes and inscriptions of Byzantine character. In the neighborhood of Mottola are two grottoes, dedicated to S. Margherita and S. Nicola. The former is without intelligible plan, except the small apse at the far end containing the altar. Yet the walls are covered with frescoes

of the Madonna and saints, of little merit, except as examples of the piety of the age which produced them. The neighboring chapel, of S. Nicola, has a more logical plan, covering nearly a square, of which rather more than a quarter at the east end is cut off from the rest by a wall or iconostasis decorated with frescoes and pierced by three openings. This eastern portion answers to the bema or transept. Its floor is raised by three steps, and from its centre projects a square tribune in place of the usual apse. The front portion of the plan is divided unequally by two arches on each side into nave and aisles, the arches springing from two square piers, from which spring also transverse arches dividing nave and aisles each into two bays. (Fig. 323.)

The region about Matera furnishes several examples of this interesting class of buildings, among which it will be sufficient to mention two, viz., the grottoes of S. Barbara, and the Cappucino Vecchio. S. Barbara is a rectangle measuring some twenty by thirty feet, entered by a doorway in the face of the rock. The roof is supported by two rudely hewn piers, each of which bears on one face the monogram of Christ, enclosed in a circle. On the right near the entrance, a little stair leads to a small cell in the side-wall, beyond which is a stone pulpit set against the wall. The rectangle is closed at the far end by a wall covered with frescoes, pierced in the centre by a doorway and on the sides by several small windows, beyond which is the sanctuary, somewhat smaller than the front portion, and consisting of three apses, one opposite the doorway, the others on the sides, the middle one containing the altar.

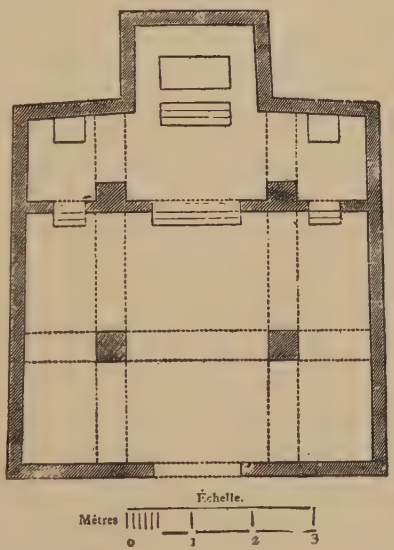

Fig. 323. Chapel of S. Nicola, near Mottola.

The neighboring grotto of the Cappucino Vecchio has a singular plan. An enclosed porch or narthex, opening by two doorways in the wall of the ravine on the border of which Matera lies, gives access to two aisles separated by a wall pierced by arches, each aisle

ending in an apse raised by several steps above the aisle, with a large niche at the base, a stone bench running around the semi-circular wall, and an altar at the centre of the circle. (Fig. 324.) The frescoes with which the walls were covered have now disappeared, the plaster having fallen from the walls.[1]

The grotto of S. Nicola, not far off, near the village of Montescaglioso, is in plan very similar to the last-mentioned; and here, as it appears, the two aisles were devoted to the two forms of worship; in the right-hand aisle the Latin rite was celebrated, in the left-hand, the Greek. This chapel, like many of its class, was the centre of a little community of monks who dwelt in cells excavated in the rock in the immediate neighborhood of the chapel,[2] having neither the organization nor the permanence of the monastery, but brought into existence by the same influences, and living with something of the same life, though with a severer asceticism. These little institutions retained the name which had been given centuries before to their Eastern prototypes, of "laura," and they were sometimes attached to the greater monasteries.[3]

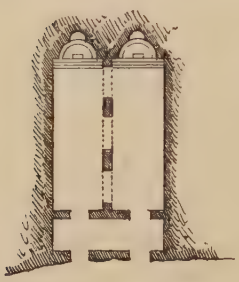

Fig. 324. Cappucino Vecchio.

As the buildings of the monastery grew in importance they were surrounded, as an obvious precaution against the dangers of hostile attack to which they were perpetually exposed, by a strong wall of defence. As the cells of the monks increased in number they were arranged in closer order and made to enclose an open space, around which was carried a covered gallery of communication. Thus was developed, out of the practical needs of the daily monastic life, the cloister, — the most picturesque, poetical and characteristic feature of the monastery.[4] The isolated cells which surrounded it were, in the course of time, consolidated into compact buildings, often of two stories, and supplementary buildings were added, as the life of the monastery became more secure and more complex, — the refectory, the infirmary, the guest-house, the workshops, the stables, the studios, the library. Both on account of the generally secluded position

[1] Diehl, *L'art Byzantin dans l'Italie méridionale*, p. 154.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 156.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[4] The cloister, which in all Western monasteries is attached to the side of the church, was in the East an enclosure enveloping the whole church within its walls. See Lenoir, ii., p. 296.

of the monastery, and on account of the danger of invasion and siege, it was important that the institution should contain within its walls all that was needful for the support of its inhabitants. The monastery thus became, to use the words of a French writer, a veritable religious city, embracing gardens, mills, bakeries, breweries, stables, workshops of various sorts, and everything needful for the domestic economy of a great establishment. Lenoir, in his "Architecture Monastique," gives the following comprehensive summary of the requirements of a monastery of the first class: —

Wall of enclosure, fortified or not.
Principal church.
One or more secondary churches, with chapels, oratories, and sacristies.
Treasury, chapter-house.
Cloister.
Parlor or conversation-room.
Summer refectory.
Winter refectory.
Kitchens, cellars.
Chauffoir, or warmed sitting-room, the only room artificially warmed in severe weather.
Dormitories, vestries, baths.
Library.
One or more *scriptatoria*, rooms for the copying of MSS.
Archives.
Schools and their dependencies.
Abbot's house and garden.
Infirmary and dependencies.
Physician's house, with garden for medicinal plants.
Pharmacy.
House for novices.
Guest-house for distinguished visitors.
Guest-house for pilgrims and the poor.
Almshouse for the distribution of food and money.
Bakery with storehouse for meal.
Mills.
Brewery.
Winepress.
Lardarium for the preparing and storing of dried meats.
Granaries for cereals and fruits.
Reservoirs, for holding and distributing water.
Stables for all sorts of domestic animals.
Inner yard or court, with pigeon-houses and keeper's residence.
Kitchen-gardens and gardener's house.
Fruit-garden.
Garden for walking, with fish-ponds.
Workshops for all kinds of industries.
Administration, tribunal.
Prisons.
Pillory and other instruments of punishment.
Dead-house, with lavatory.
Cemetery, with or without ossuary.
Commemorative monuments.

In determining the general plan of the monastery, these secular buildings were generally so placed that the lay members of the institution did not necessarily see the monks at all. The abbot,

who exercised an absolute authority, lived apart, often in much luxury, in a separate house, to which a garden was always attached. The modest chapel of the early monastery expanded into a church, as noble and beautiful as the resources of the monks could command; and in the vast majority of cases, the church, on which was concentrated the devotion and pride of the order, remained to preserve the remembrance and fame of the monastery when all its accessory buildings had crumbled into dust.[1]

The monasteries of Italy may be grouped for purposes of description in two classes: — the Benedictine, — which include all those built from the time of St. Benedict down to that of Bernard of Clairvaux, or from the middle of the sixth century to the middle of the twelfth, — and those of the later orders, — the Cistercian, whose foundation coincides with, and was doubtless the occasion of, the establishment in Italy, though in a partial and modified form, of the Gothic of Northern France, and the Franciscan and Dominican, which followed a century later. The monasteries of the first class were mainly founded during the two centuries which followed Benedict, and, as I have said above, were repeatedly destroyed and repeatedly rebuilt until little or nothing remained of the original construction. At Subiaco, the earliest of all, we can still trace the general plan on which the successive constructions of the early monasteries of Benedict arose. The site lends itself most naturally to that native instinct for the picturesque which appears in all the work of the early Italian builders. The two great monasteries into which the numerous smaller institutions of Benedict were consolidated, occupy the abrupt and broken slope of a rough mountain, — the lower called Sta. Scolastica, after the beloved sister of Benedict, and the upper, the Sacro Speco. They are separated by a mile or so of intervening space, and the two present a maze of churches, chapels, oratories, crypts, passages, stairways, and cloisters, upon the most irregular plan, at all levels and of all dates. The buildings are in part supported upon tall arcades growing out of the rocky slope. Of the lower monastery, the only portions which can be called ancient are the second and third cloisters, — dating the one from 1052, in which instead of the usual arcade we find a solid wall pierced at intervals by large pointed arched openings, with a second story lighted by

[1] In respect of the preservation of the ancient monasteries, France has been much more fortunate than Italy. Many of the earliest and most important of the French monasteries, as Cluny, Citeaux, Clairvaux, etc., are still in good condition and carefully kept by the state.

small windows, and the other a century and a half later, — and the tower of the church, which may probably be assigned to the middle of the eleventh century. The third cloister is still in a good state of preservation, and shows a series of delicate arcades divided into groups of four, five, and six round arches supported by slender columns, alternately single and coupled, of various design, resting on a high stylobate. (Fig. 325.) Over the western arcade is an inscription in mosaic, which shows the cloister to have been, at least as far as its decoration is concerned, the work of the Cosmati, the celebrated family to whom were due the sculpture and mosaics of the more beautiful cloister of the Lateran at Rome. "Cosmus et filii Luc. et Jac., alt. Romani cives in marmoris arte periti hoc opus explerunt, abbatis T. de Laudi."

The walls of the arcades were covered with frescoes now nearly obliterated, representing the popes, emperors, princes, and other dignitaries who were reckoned among the benefactors of the monastery. The arcades support a high second story which had formerly an open arcade of broad and high arches on square piers.

Of the upper monastery of the Sacro Speco, none of the buildings appear to be older than the middle of the eleventh century. The

Fig. 325. Subiaco. Third Cloister.

church embraces, as at Assisi, three churches, one above another, of various dates and styles. The lowest, dating from 1053, has pointed groined vaults and round apse; the uppermost dating from 1116, but probably more or less changed in its interior, is Gothic in some of its details, but with round barrel vault and no apse, and is profusely decorated with frescoes, mostly of the early thirteenth century. Connected with it is a long and intricate succession of chapels, partly excavated from the rock, and in which the same decoration is continued.[1] In the upper church the place of the apse is occupied by a cave in the rocky hillside, in which is placed the altar, lighted by a shaft from the surface above, — an extremely effective and picturesque arrangement.

At Monte Cassino, as at Subiaco, repeated rebuildings have left nothing of the original work, and but very little of the work of the great abbot Didier, or Desiderius, afterwards Pope Victor III., who in the eleventh century rebuilt the whole monastery on a grand scale, and adorned it sumptuously with sculpture, painting, mosaic, bronze, gold, silver, and ivory, bringing to the monastery Byzantine and Saracenic artists in great numbers. Although here, as at Subiaco, the monastery climbs the abrupt slope of a hill, yet the later plan, — how much changed from the earlier we do not know, — has much more coherence and regularity. It covers a space measuring roughly some three hundred by seven hundred feet. The main entrance, under a low tower at the foot of the great mass of buildings which forms the front, leads by a low vaulted staircase to a great court, flanked on each side by a cloister, from which it is separated only by an open arcade. From the opposite end a majestic flight of steps leads to an inner court which is the atrium of the church, a Renaissance structure built upon the foundations of the church of Desiderius, which was consecrated in 1071. Of the present building the façade is unfinished. On the right of the church and of the atrium are the cloisters of the monks, rebuilt with the other principal portions of the monastery in 1659, and the whole is enclosed on three sides by the great ranges of dormitories. (Fig. 326.) Of all these vast buildings, the only portion which tradition assigns to the original monastery are the entrance gateway, with its low arch and vault, signifying humility, and the lower portion of the square tower which surmounts it.

[1] See Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. xviii.–xix., for a minute description of these frescoes. For an interesting account of the Subiaco monasteries, both in their history and their present aspect, see Gregorovius, *Promenades en Italie*, p. 60 *et seq.*

Of the ancient Lombard monastery of Farfa, many of the vast buildings remain, but by no means in their original form. Of its early aspect and plan, we have no exact knowledge. But the great basilica which formed its central feature, dedicated to the Virgin, was surrounded by five other basilicas; an imperial palace and numerous lesser official residences were included within the surrounding wall, colonnades of great extent furnished sheltered walks for the rich and proud monks, and the whole was enclosed by a strongly fortified wall, with towers at intervals.[1]

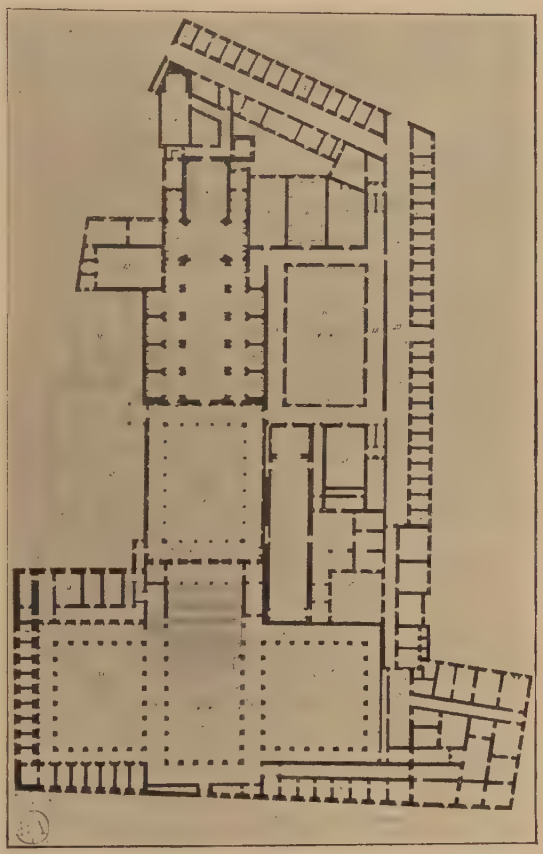

Fig. 326. Plan of Monte Cassino. Present Monastery.

Of the second group of monasteries, beginning with those either founded by the Cistercians or substantially rebuilt by them during the first half of the twelfth century, we find several examples which, though unhappily in a more or less ruinous condition, are yet sufficiently preserved to show us clearly both their general disposition and their architectural design. The earliest of these are the three founded within ten or twelve years of each other by Bernard of Clairvaux, in all of which the name of the parent monastery was preserved, though in the Italian form, viz., Chiaravalle near Milan, whose church has been already described in a

[1] Gregorovius, iii., 284.

previous chapter, Chiaravalle della Colomba, near Piacenza, and Chiaravalle di Castagnola, near Ancona. Of all these, the churches are the only portions which have not become ruinous by time and neglect, or transformed by restoration. The churches are in each case of brick, and the two earlier ones are of rude and heavy design, with massive round piers supporting ponderous arches and low groined vaults. The latest, that of Chiaravalle di Castagnola, is of much lighter and more advanced construction, and is probably the earliest existing example of the introduction in Italy of the forms, and to a limited extent the construction of the Gothic architecture of Northern France.[1] Its plan is a Latin cross with nave and aisles of six bays, a transept with a square bay at the crossing, and two bays in each

Fig. 327. Chiaravalle di Castagnola. Plan and Section.

arm, of which the outer one projects beyond the aisle wall, and a small choir in two bays, flanked on each side by two chapels corresponding to the bays of the transept arms, — the usual Cistercian plan. (Fig. 327.) The total length of the church is a little less than two hundred feet, its breadth about sixty-five feet. The nave arcades are of pointed arches, carried on compound piers, of which three members toward the nave, in the form of engaged shafts, rise from the pavement to the vaulting, the middle shaft taking the

[1] The solidarity of the monastic institution throughout Europe doubtless accounts for the essential unity of the monastic style in all the Western countries. As always, the French examples are superior in refinement of design and completeness of plan to those of England, Germany, or Italy; but the Italian examples, being mostly by French architects, exhibit a noticeable superiority to most of the native architecture of the time.

spring of the transverse arch which separates the nave bays, and the others that of the diagonal ribs of the pointed and groined vaults. The arrangement is the same in the bays of the aisles, a half-pier on the outer wall answering in plan to the nave pier. This construction

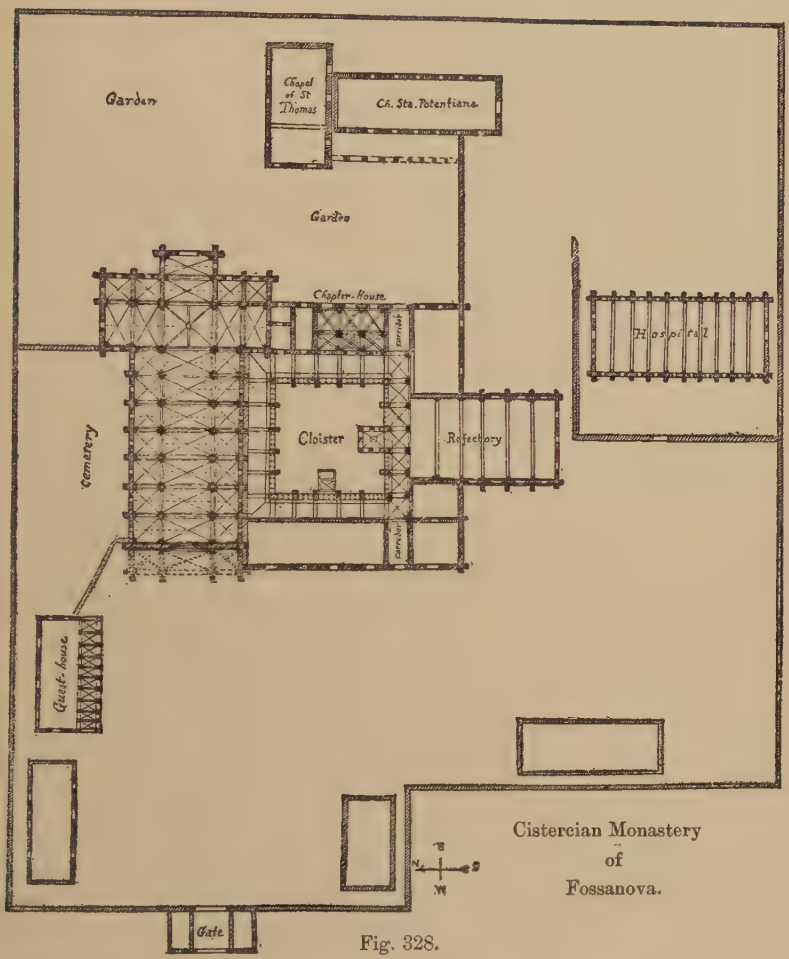

Fig. 328.

is varied in those portions of the nave and aisles adjacent to the transept, where there seem to be the remains of an older and ruder building. The same may be said of the details. The capitals of the shafts are in general without foliage or other ornament, and are for the most part simple cubical block capitals, although some are of a

later form with a more or less Corinthian outline, but with no more decoration on the bell than four large simple leaves at the angles, scarcely more than outlined. But one at least of the piers at the angles of the crossing has capitals which suggest a Lombard origin, with rude foliage, of which the stems form an interlacing pattern. The square of the crossing has a vault similar to those of the nave, and is surmounted by a square belfry tower with a low pyramidal roof which doubtless replaces one of an earlier date.[1]

But if this interesting interior shows in the clearest manner the hand of the French architect reproducing almost without modification the forms of the Gothic of France, the same can by no means be said of the exterior. The façade is a mere screen wall, entirely without relation to the church behind it in height, breadth, or outline. It has a projecting porch of the full breadth of the church, with five open round arches and a lean-to roof, with a small wheel-window over it, the wall being carried up without change of breadth

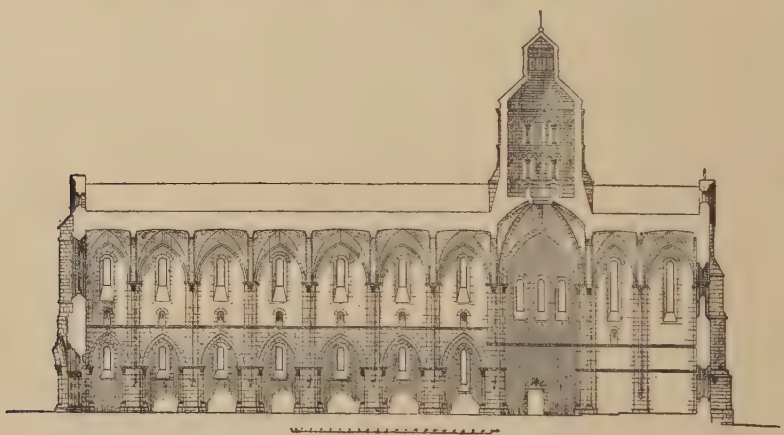

Fig. 329. Fossanova. Section of Church.

to a horizontal cornice above the ridge of the nave roof, and crowned by a low pediment. The windows of the flanks are all round-arched. The walls of aisles and clerestory have strongly projecting buttresses, and the thrust of the nave vaults is met by a wall carried up on the transverse arches of the aisles above the aisle roof, and abutting against the buttresses of the clerestory, a device adopted by the Lombard architects at least two centuries before, as seen in S. Ambrogio,

[1] Enlart, p. 71; A. L. Frothingham, Jr., in *Am. Jour. of Archæology*, 1891, p. 286; Schnaase, vii., p. 106.

Fig. 330. Fossanova. Interior.

Milan. These walls are now solid, but their masonry affords evidence that the portion above the roof was originally an arch, which has been filled in with later brickwork. If this be so, we have here probably the first example in Italy of a flying buttress, though its form is still rudimentary, and its adoption in this instance was apparently unsuccessful. The effective use of this feature required,

in truth, more science and constructive skill than was possessed by the Italian builders even at a period much later than that with which we are now concerned, which, it must be remembered, was the period of the earlier of the great Gothic churches of France. St. Denis was practically complete in 1150, and Notre Dame of Paris, Soissons, Autun, Langres, and many others were well under way before the end of the century.

I have said that of the monastery at Castagnola, the church is the only portion which remains to us of the original construction. The earliest of the Cistercian monasteries which shows us with tolerable completeness the entire group of buildings is that of Fossanova, which lies on the Via Appia, some seventy miles to the southeast of Rome.

It is believed to have been founded during the lifetime of Benedict, and to have been peopled by a colony of monks sent from his monastery at Monte Cassino. Falling more or less into decay, it was about 1135 given by Pope Innocent II. to Bernard of Clairvaux, and was thenceforth under the rule of the Cistercian order, which had by that time grown to be the greatest of the monastic orders. The ancient buildings were before the end of the century successively replaced by new ones, in which the forms of the Gothic of the Ile de France were chiefly followed, though with many exterior modifications. The ground-plan (Fig. 328), shows the arrangement of the various parts. The surrounding wall encloses a space some six hundred feet square. The central mass of buildings in the middle of this enclosure surrounds a cloister measuring about sixty-four by seventy-seven feet, which shows on three of its sides the old Lombard arcades in groups of four small plain round arches, supported, some on mid-wall shafts with large block capitals, others on coupled columns; while the fourth or south side is Gothic, with high pointed arches supported on coupled columns, some with twisted shafts, with a second story above the arcade. The three older galleries are covered with barrel vaults; the fourth is groined. The church, which measures about two hundred and ten feet in its total length, and ninety-four feet across the transept, is cruciform, with a lofty nave and very low aisles, each in seven vaulted bays, a square projecting choir of two bays, flanked by two square chapels on either side, opening from the transept, — the characteristic arrangement of the Cistercian churches everywhere. The transepts are each in two bays like those of the nave and choir, and the crossing is covered by an octagonal lantern or tower in two stories with cupola. (Fig. 329.)

The piers of the nave arcades are square, with simple, engaged columns on three sides carrying the arches of the nave and the transverse arch of the aisle, while on the fourth side, — that next the nave, — a pilaster rises to the spring of the nave vault, bearing on its face an engaged vaulting shaft, which springs not from the floor, but from a

Fig. 331. Fossanova. Exterior of Church.

corbel some eight feet above it, and rises to take the spring of the transverse arch of the nave. There are no capitals except those of the engaged shafts, which are well developed, with strong knobs at the angles, supporting the high abacus, and with simple foliage in low relief. Everything about this interior is marked by the strictest simplicity and reserve; the mouldings of the imposts and strings are small and severe, while the arches throughout are unmoulded. The vaults are without ribs, except in the apse and under the lantern. (Fig. 330.)

The exterior of the church adheres less closely than the interior to the French traditions, yet it has many points of resemblance to the contemporary Cistercian churches of Central France. Its fine western front follows the outline of the nave and aisles, and suffers from the extreme lowness of the latter. The central doorway is of unusual richness, with deeply splayed jambs having three orders of columns carrying an admirable series of rich mouldings, which enclose

the low pointed arch. The only other important feature of the front is a noble wheel-window, of the diameter of eighteen feet, with interlacing arches springing from slender colonnettes, and a foliated circle at the centre. The church had originally a porch in three bays extending across the whole front, similar to that of Castagnola, just described; the wall-ribs and starts of its transverse arches and vault-ribs are still visible in the wall of the façade. The transept is as high as the nave, and its walls, like those of the nave and aisles, and the angles of the central division of the façade, are reinforced by strongly projecting buttresses, with single round-arched windows between. The central lantern is octagonal, of two stories, each with a coupled pointed window in each face, divided by a slender shaft. The small octagonal cupola which surmounts the roof is of the same design. (Fig. 331.)

On the east side of the cloister, in a line with the south transept of the church, are the sacristy, the chapter-house, a passage of entrance to the cloister from the outside, flanked by a narrow stair which leads to the dormitory of the monks above, and two vaulted storehouses. The storehouses are, like the chapter-house, divided into groined bays, but the design is naturally much simpler, the supports being plain square piers, and the vaults not being separated by arches. Another range of storehouses encloses the cloister on the west, with a second story, formerly used as a dormitory for the lay members of the monastery. The chapter-house is a fine room, measuring about thirty-five feet square, with a ceiling divided into six groined bays, supported by two grouped piers. In construction and detail this room is a pure example of the French Gothic of the period. The grouping of the shafts of which the piers are composed, their bases and capitals, the mouldings of the arches which spring from them, and enclose the bays, the simple diagonal ribs of the vaulting, are all such as are to be seen in the twelfth-century churches of Northern France. The exception is found in the door and window openings, which are round-arched, and which indicate that the external wall is that of the ancient chapter-house of the Benedictines. (Fig. 332.)

From the middle of the south side of the cloister opens the refectory of the monks. This is a rectangular hall, measuring about fifty feet wide and a hundred long, divided into six narrow bays by high pointed arches spanning the whole breadth, and springing from engaged piers on the side walls, most of which rest on corbels. On these arches solid walls were carried up to support the wooden roof.

A small stone stair in the thickness of the side wall led to the pulpit, from which a brother read to the rest during the simple meal. The pulpit is gone, but the finely moulded corbelling which supported it remains. The stair and the pulpit are covered by two arches, each occupying the whole width of the bay. Opposite the door by which the refectory is entered from the cloister, a square pavilion projects from the arcade, with two open round arches on each of the sides except that which makes a part of the arcade. In the centre of the pavilion was the fountain and basin for the ablutions of the monks as they left the refectory. This was one of the most characteristic features of the cloister, though its more usual position was in one of the angles of the inner square. The refectory is flanked on one side by the kitchen, and on the other by the calefactorium, or warming-room, — the only room in the monastery except the kitchen where a fire was allowed.

Outside the central block of buildings were various supplementary structures of greater or less importance in the daily life of the monastery. Of these the most conspicuous was the infirmary or hospital, a great hall not unlike the refectory, measuring about one hundred and fifty feet in length and forty in breadth; divided into ten bays by simple transverse pointed arches which spring from

Fig. 332. Fossanova. Interior of Chapter-house.

consoles in the wall, and which carried the wooden roof. The rubble masonry which filled the spaces between these arches and the roof has fallen away, but these fine, thin arches still stand in perfect condition, an interesting witness of the care and solidity with which they were built. (Fig. 333.) Their thrust is met by buttresses projecting from the side walls. The hall was lighted by large pointed windows, one in each bay, set high in the walls, and by smaller windows in the gables.

An important adjunct of the mediæval monastery was the hospitium, or guest-house, where strangers and pilgrims were entertained. At Fossanova two buildings on opposite sides of the central group were devoted to this purpose. The one nearer the entrance gate is a long building of two stories, the lower furnished with an open vaulted arcade along its whole length. The other building, on the east side of the enclosure, consists of two separate portions, of which the longer is believed to be the ancient church of Sta. Potentiana (or Pudenziana), a singular Lombard structure dating perhaps from the eighth or ninth century ; while the other portion, built some three or four centuries later, but still before the acquisition of the monastery by the Cistercians, was used for the lodgment of guests. An open arcade of simple round arches on plain square piers extended from the front of the guest-house along the flank of the old church. Various other buildings, of which the original use can only be conjectured, still stand near the west wall of the monastery, in which is the entrance gateway, a large and massive building of two stories, containing several rooms for the gate-keeper and other servants, and giving entrance to the enclosure under two broad archways, the outer pointed, the inner round.

The monastery of Casamari, rebuilt a few years later than Fossanova, is very similar to it in its general arrangement and extent, and in the architectural design of its various parts so close a similarity is observable as to suggest that they were the work of the same architect. The two churches, especially, are in most respects nearly exact counterparts, — the exceptions being a western aisle added to the transepts of Casamari [1] to balance the chapels which flank the choir,[2] the choir itself being a single square bay covered by a sexpartite vault. The fine exterior porch is still in good condition. It is approached by a broad and high flight of steps,

[1] Enlart, *Origines Françaises de l'Arch. Goth. en Italie*, p. 33.
[2] A. L. Frothingham, Jr., in *Am. Jour. of Archæology*, 1890, p. 46.

Fig. 333. Fossanova. Interior of Infirmary.

and extends across the whole front of the church, with three open arches, the middle one round, the side arches pointed, opening into three vaulted bays corresponding to the nave and aisles. The central lantern is much smaller and simpler than that of Fossanova, and instead of covering the crossing of nave and transept, whose vault seems a preparation for it, is set over the last bay of the nave, a curious and inexplicable arrangement. In the vaulting, a distinct advance is to be noted from the earlier church of Fossanova, the arches being higher proportionally, and being all built on ribs. The cloister, which shows to a smaller degree than most of its class the influence of the French Gothic, forms a square of about sixty-five feet, with a round-arched doorway on each face, flanked on each side by two smaller coupled arches of the same form, which spring from coupled columns on a high stylobate. The centre of the enclosure is occupied by a fine cistern hewn from the rock, and surrounded by a wall or curb of red marble adorned with small white marble columns. The chapter-house, less elegant than that of

Fossanova, is still one of the finest in Italy. It is divided into nine square bays by four grouped piers composed of shafts which have a moulded band or girdle around their middle, elongated leafed capitals, and a high octagonal stilt-block from which spring finely moulded arches dividing the bays, and the diagonal ribs of the vaulting. On the walls, the arches spring from responds, of which the shafts, just below the capitals, are diminished in the form of a corbel, with a singularly awkward effect. The hall is lighted by fine large windows, coupled, pointed-arched, and covered by pointed bearing-arches following the wall-arch of the vault.

The entrance gateway is an effective and charming composition. Its outer façade shows a great, open, round arch, with ample space of wall on each side, and above, on a light string-course, a graceful arcade of open, small, round arches divided into groups of two, and supported on delicate coupled columns. Above the arcade is a light decorated cornice, with carved consoles over the piers which separate the groups. The whole composition is thoroughly French in feeling, and is very similar to many examples in Central France during the thirteenth century. (Fig. 334.) The refectory is of more ample dimensions than that of Fossanova, and having a second story above it, its ceiling is vaulted in groined bays, and supported by massive columns. Over it is the great dormitory of the monks.[1]

Fig. 334. Casamari. Entrance Gateway.

The monks of Casamari seem to have been among the most energetic of their order. During the first quarter of the thirteenth century, they founded, besides carrying on the works of their own monastery, two others of

[1] Mothes (p. 673) assigns the foundation of the monastery to 1088, but says the actual work of building was begun in 1095, and the church finished in 1151.

importance, — S. Maria d' Arbona, near Chieti, in the recesses of the Abruzzi, in 1208, and ten years later that of San Galgano, some twenty miles from Siena. Of the first of these nothing now remains save the church and chapter-house. But these are still in tolerable preservation. The church follows the usual Cistercian arrangement, — a cruciform plan, with a square projecting choir in two bays flanked on each side by two square chapels opening from the transept, whose ends are each divided into two oblong bays. The nave evidently remained unfinished, since it consists only of a single oblong bay. The interior (Fig. 335) is less severe than those of Fossanova and Casamari, and with the exception of the single nave bay, the vaults are built on ribs of simple profile forming pointed arches. The square of the crossing is covered, as at Fossanova and Casamari, by a domical octagonal vault with strongly profiled ribs springing from the four piers at the angles of the square and from the apexes of the four enclosing arches, and meeting at the crown of the vault in a round opening, evidently the preparation for an octagonal lantern which was never built. The choir is lighted with more than usual completeness by three windows in the lower stage, of which the central one is pointed, by two single, round-arched windows above these, and a wheel-window under the arch of the vault. A similar wheel-window pierces the gable of the north transept. All the other windows of the church are simple round-arched openings. The arches which separate the

S. Maria d' Arbona.

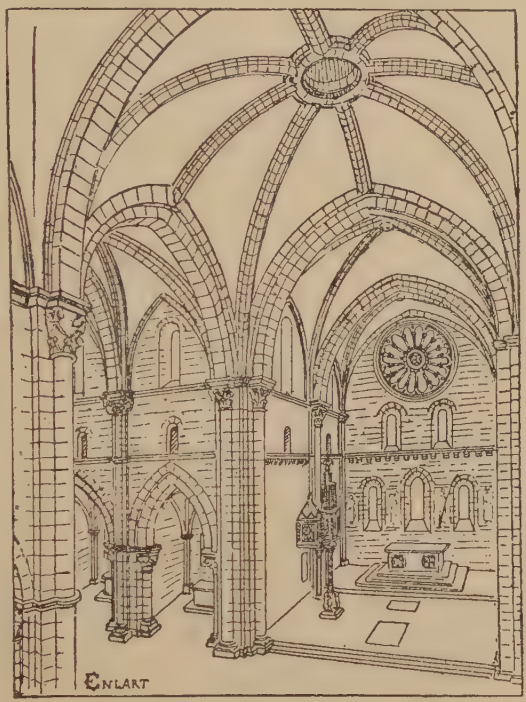

Fig. 335. S. Maria d' Arbona.

nave and aisles are also round; those in the transept, as well as all the transverse arches, are pointed. The exterior of the church, which is very rude, with strong buttresses and low roofs, shows a partial return to Lombard motives, as in the arched corbel-table which makes the cornice of the aisles and clerestory.[1]

S. Galgano.

At San Galgano the church reproduced very closely that of Casamari, but with an additional bay in the nave and aisles. The height is the same, the disposition of the bays the same, except that in the six westerly bays of the clerestory the original small single windows have been replaced by tall two-light windows with cusped heads and a foliated circle under the bearing-arch; while in the other two bays the original single windows remain with a rose above in the arch of the vault. The transverse arches of the nave are built of brick with alternate voussoirs of travertine, and a similar alternation of brick and stone occurs on the exterior wall of the north transept and of the choir.[2] This is perhaps the earliest instance of that use of contrasting colors which became, a little later, so marked a characteristic of the Northern schools of Italian Gothic. (Figs. 336, 337.)

In some of the monastic churches which immediately followed

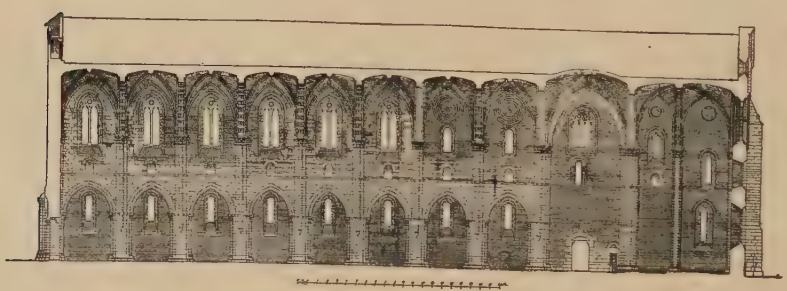

Fig. 336. S. Galgano. Section.

S. Martino al Cimino.

Fossanova and Casamari, we begin to see a variation from the forms and principles of the Northern Gothic, notably in that of the monastery of San Martino al Cimino, some eight miles from Viterbo, — one of the earliest monasteries in Italy, its founda-

[1] Enlart, p. 45; Bindi, *Monumenti Storici degli Abruzzi*, p. 651; Schulz, ii., p. 35, pl. lx.

[2] Enlart declares, on very insufficient grounds, that "the church of S. Galgano was the model of the cathedral of Siena, and the prototype of the Tuscan Gothic." It appears to be true, however, that the works of that cathedral were directed, during some twenty years, or from 1260 to 1280, by the monks of S. Galgano. Enlart, pp. 17, 49.

tion going back to the early times of the Benedictines, and its transference to the Cistercians in 1150 following close upon that of Fossanova and Casamari. The buildings were at that time in a state of ruin which made a complete rebuilding necessary. This did not, however, take place for another half century. Early in the thirteenth century it was carried out under the patronage of Pope Innocent III.

Fig. 337. S. Galgano. Interior of Church.

The church differs from those heretofore mentioned in several important respects. Its nave, transepts, and choir are divided into square bays, four in the nave, one in each transept, and one in the choir. The aisles are also in square bays, of which two answer to each bay of the nave, the vaulting of the aisles being effected by means of an intermediate column between the great nave piers, and the large squares of the nave and the small squares of the aisles being covered alike with quadripartite vaults. This is not the French arrangement, so closely adhered to in the other monastic churches of which I have spoken above, but the Lombard arrangement, as seen in San Ambrogio at Milan, San Michele at Pavia, and most of the characteristic Lombard churches of Northern Italy. In the transepts this disposition is modified by the interposition of an intermediate transverse arch thrown across the square bay, dividing the two lateral cells of the vault, which thus becomes sexpartite. A similar construction was apparently intended in the nave, of which

the bay next the transept shows on the upper wall the intermediate transverse arch across the nave; the intention being further indicated by two windows in the clerestory which, had the intention been carried out, would have occupied the heads of the two wall-arches of the vault.[1] The choir of the church also shows a return to the Romanesque form, and instead of the two oblong bays of the earlier Cistercian churches, shows a single oblong bay, in line with the flanking chapels, and a projecting octagonal apse with vaulting ribs springing from angle-shafts, and on the exterior strong angle buttresses.

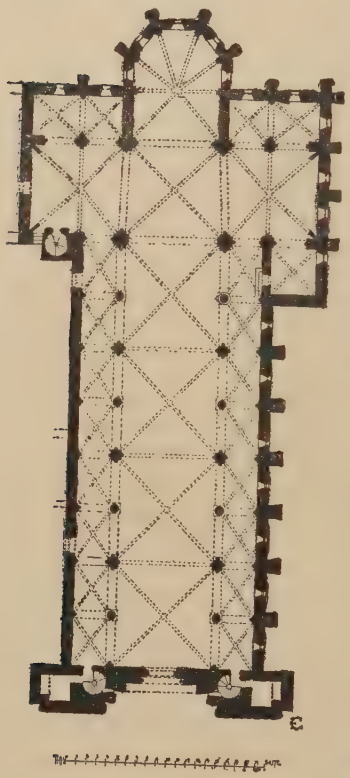

Fig. 338. Plan of S. Martino.

Of the other buildings which made up the extensive group which belonged to the monastery, the greater part were destroyed or entirely rebuilt for quite different uses, in the middle of the seventeenth century.[2] As at Fossanova and Casamari, the most important of the conventual buildings seem to have been disposed in line with the transept of the church, the direction here being, however, reversed. The sacristy and another small room, perhaps the treasury, adjoined the north transept. Then came a narrow passage or corridor connecting the cloister with the exte-

[1] The perfectly logical arrangement of a sexpartite vault covering a square bay, with an intermediate nave-column and a vaulting shaft above it, taking the spring of an intermediate transverse arch, is common in French churches of the twelfth century. Examples may be seen in the smaller churches of Champeaux, Nesle, Angicourt, and la Madelaine at Troyes, in the cathedral of Lausanne, and in some of the French cathedrals, as Noyon, Mantes, Senlis, and Sens.

[2] "In 1564 the monastery had become extinct, and the property passed into the hands of the Vatican chapter. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, it became the property of the Doria family, who are still the owners. Donna Olimpia Pamphile, sister-in-law of Innocent X., who died in 1657, made the site her favorite residence. She built a great palace within the precincts of the ruined monastery, restored the church in the barocco taste of the time, and was buried there, as is shown by two inscriptions, one placed over the door of entrance, the other in the pavement in front of the high altar." Frothingham, in *Jour. of Arch.*, vi., p. 302.

rior, beyond which, but separated by a square apartment whose use is not known, was the chapter-house, larger than either of those above mentioned, — a double square in plan, divided by a line of three grouped piers into two aisles, each covered by four square groined vaults with dividing pointed arches and moulded ribs. The chapter-house nearly closed one side of what seems to have been a second cloister, — the first adjoining the church, and the two separated by a range of buildings which was probably either a dormitory or a refectory, or possibly both combined.

Fig. 339. S. Martino. Longitudinal Section.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GOTHIC

In entering on the Gothic period in the architecture of Italy we seem to be in the midst of a new order of things, as well in the social as in the religious and political life of the people. As the earlier Romanesque architecture, particularly that of the Lombard school, spoke of the sombre conditions of the dark ages, in which the people, the sport and prey of kings, nobles, and priests, scarcely rose above the beasts of the field, so the Gothic which replaced or followed it in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries represented the newer, freer, more active and hopeful life into which the struggling people slowly emerged. At the opening of this period, the arts and graces of life were still shut up within the walls of the monasteries; all outside was war and turmoil, with intervals of torpor and exhaustion. Before another century had passed, a new sense had possessed the people, and a new relation was established between them and the powers which had hitherto fought for the privilege of enslaving them. In the fierce and prolonged struggle between the Popes and the Emperors, which tore the North of Italy through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, both parties had to take account of the swarming populations of the cities, and for the first time in history we begin to see architecture freely employed in the service of the people, and no longer exclusively in the service of state and church. The Renaissance was already at hand, and all the conditions of arts, politics, and social life were preparing for it.[1]

We have seen in the preceding chapter that the earliest examples of the use of the Gothic forms in Italy were in the monastic churches and their accessory buildings, and that the style was wholly an importation from France. The failure of the Romanesque of Lombardy to develop out of the rudeness of its early forms, and out

[1] What Viollet le Duc says of the French communes of the twelfth century is equally true of those of Italy: "The enfranchisement of the communes marks an important point in the history of architecture; it was a serious blow to the feudal influence, whether religious or secular. From that moment the great religious centres ceased to occupy exclusively the domain of art." *Dict.*, vol. i., p. 127.

of the timidity and clumsiness of its construction, into a more complete and logical system both of construction and design, is very remarkable. The more scientific and artistic Romanesque of Northern France grew naturally in the second half of the twelfth century into the system of balanced thrust and resistance which characterizes the Gothic, and which took upon itself those qualities of daring lightness, height, space, and constructive decoration which have made that architecture, not less than the classic architecture of Greece, the wonder and admiration of the world. But in Italy the preparatory steps towards such development, which we have seen in the earliest of the great Lombard churches still existing, in San Ambrogio and San Michele, — the transverse arches which divide the nave and aisles into bays, the grouped piers with their vaulting shafts, the vaulting ribs sustaining the masonry of the vaults, — led to nothing further. The process of development was checked, much as was the case with the Romanesque of the southern provinces of France. The tendency towards a Gothic structure was arrested before the Gothic forms had begun to appear. In the later Lombard monuments, in Pavia, Piacenza, Parma, an amelioration of the lowness of proportion and of the heaviness of construction is the most that can be remarked in this direction, up to the time when the classic traditions resumed their sway.

In the centre and south of Italy, there was, as we have seen, even less approach to a scientific construction; the use of vaulting being everywhere extremely limited, and the churches tending both in plan and construction to keep as closely as possible to the basilican type.

Two things are to be remarked in the Gothic of Italy, — first, its incompleteness as compared with the Gothic of France, and even with that of England and Germany; and second, its lack of homogeneousness as a national style.

Inferiority of the Italian Gothic.

The monastic churches which have been described in the previous chapter — the earliest examples of the use of Gothic forms in Italy — were of too limited dimensions, and too simple in their plan and disposition of parts, to exhibit the more important and characteristic features of the French Gothic. They were in those respects on a plane with the parish churches of France, and called for no especial science in construction, beyond what was exhibited in the nearly contemporary vaulted Romanesque churches of Lombardy. But even in the much larger and more important churches which followed these first examples, — churches which in some cases approached nearly to the scale of the great Northern cathedrals, the development

was, as we shall see later, singularly incomplete ; so that, as a recent French writer has remarked, "there are perhaps not seven churches in Italy which have flying buttresses." [1] Not that these supports are not in many instances manifestly needed ; since the constant use of iron ties at the spring of the vaults furnishes the strongest testimony to the insufficiency of the preparation made for resisting their thrusts. But indeed, as I have said before, the Italian builders seem never, after the decay of the Roman civilization, to have exhibited any of the scientific knowledge and invention which characterized the builders of the North of Europe.

Whether the Gothic architecture would in Italy, under other conditions, have ever attained to anything resembling the development which it reached in Northern Europe, may perhaps be matter of conjecture. But beginning in Italy after it had flowered in France, and beginning not as a phase in the development of a national style, but as an example of the art of a foreign country, and in the hands of foreign builders, it had lost by the end of the fourteenth century its feeble hold on the Italian mind ; and with the opening of the fifteenth century, the early Renaissance turned all forms of art away from the mediæval paths, and gave them instead the strong impulse towards the classic models.

The introduction to a certain extent of the Gothic of Northern France in the monasteries of Fossanova and Casamari dates, as we have seen, from the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. But it was for more than a generation a monastic style exclusively, and it was not until fifty years later that it was adopted to any considerable extent in the cathedrals and smaller churches of the peninsula. From the first it was far from being a homogeneous style, but showed equally with the Romanesque which preceded it the wide variations in form, material, and construction which were given to it by the tastes and predilections of the various geographical divisions of the country. Only when it was the direct work of Northern builders were the Northern forms at all closely adhered to, as in the monasteries already noticed, or in later instances like S. Francesco at Assisi. Everywhere else the style fell away from the comparative purity of the earlier examples, falling away in one province in one direction, in another province in another ; but everywhere losing from generation to generation more of the Gothic feeling, and yielding more and more to local preferences and traditions. In Venice, Bologna, Florence, Verona, Milan, the character

[1] Enlart, p. 5.

of the architecture is widely varied, and almost the sole point of agreement is the pointed arch.

Many smaller village churches were built during the thirteenth century under the direct influence of the Cistercians, chiefly of Fossanova and Casamari. These were, for the most part, in the central portion of Italy, and show in some respects, and to a greater or less extent, the same partial use of the Gothic forms which we have remarked in the monastic churches, with perhaps still less of the Gothic spirit. Among the earliest of these smaller churches are S. Maria del Fiume at Ceccano, which is probably contemporary with the rebuilding of Fossanova, S. Maria Maggiore at Ferentino, a small church at Amaseno, and S. Maria at Sermoneta. They are generally rectangular in plan, without any projecting choir, vaulted often with simple groined vaults without ribs, as at Fossanova, showing extreme simplicity as to mouldings and decoration, and with little pretension to Gothic character on the exterior except the pointed arches of the openings.[1]

An impulse closely corresponding to that exercised in Central Italy by the monastic builders, but from a source wholly disconnected with them, made itself felt at nearly the same moment in Southern Italy. The prebendaries of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem built at Barletta in Apulia, on the shore of the Adriatic, a church since known as S. Sepolcro, which is not less Gothic in its forms than the monastic churches of which I have spoken above, but with important differences of plan and disposition, and which is interesting as probably the earliest example of the use of Gothic forms in South Italy.[2] Its plan (Fig. 340) is a long rectangle composed of a narthex in two stages, nave and aisles in six bays, and a transept scarcely projecting beyond the aisle walls, and divided into three square bays, each with a round eastern apse, and the central bay covered by an octagonal dome with a lantern and crowning spire.[3] The bays of the nave and aisles, as also those of the transept and narthex, are separated by high pointed arches, without mouldings, and all are covered by pointed groined vaults, of which only those of the nave and transepts are built on ribs, which spring,

Barletta, S. Sepolcro.

[1] Enlart, chap. iii. Mothes pushes all these churches back, apparently without reason, into the last quarter of the twelfth century.

[2] Mothes, relying on an ancient church document, assigns this church to the beginning of the fourteenth century, but remarks, nevertheless, that it is possible it may be older, and the document imperfect or untrustworthy. P. 648, note.

[3] I am describing the church in its original state. It was much transformed in the eighteenth century.

like the transverse arches, from pilasters which form a member of the compound nave-pier. The small single windows of aisles and clerestory are round-arched.

The most striking feature of the church is the narthex, which is within the walls, and divided into three bays, which continue those of nave and aisles, and are connected with these by pointed arches in two orders, the middle arch springing from low pilasters. The gallery above is also divided into three bays, of which the middle one opens into the nave by five pointed arches, the central arch broader and higher than those on the sides, which are grouped in couples divided by columnar mullions. The side bays have each a door opening onto the flat roof of the aisles. An open porch with a single square-vaulted bay formerly projected from the centre of the west front, but has now disappeared, with the exception of the shafts on the wall, from which sprang its lateral arches. The church has no wooden roof; the masonry of the vaults is brought up to a uniform slope, and covered with roofing tiles.

It will be seen that this interesting church, though similar in general character to the monastic churches above mentioned, shows in many respects its freedom from the governing influence of the Cistercians. This freedom is accentuated by the character of the sculpture, both exterior and interior, which, though sparing in quantity, is much less severe in character than that of the monkish builders, and by the traces of Byzantine paintings to be seen on the walls of the gallery over the narthex. The exterior of the church is free from any suggestion of Gothic feeling, except in the great doorway of the north aisle, in which three orders of pointed arches spring from pilasters and jamb shafts raised on a stylobate. The arch is covered by a moulded gable, and the tympanum is filled in with masonry. The whole composition is like that which prevails in most of the important churches of the Southern Romanesque, but without the richness and profusion of sculpture which is characteristic of these.[1]

Examples of a more advanced Gothic plan than is to be found in any of the buildings heretofore cited in this chapter have been already mentioned in the chapter on the Southern Romanesque. I allude to the east ends of several of the Norman churches of South Italy, — as Aversa (probably the earliest example), Acerenza, and Venosa, where the apsidal choir is enclosed within a surrounding aisle, divided into vaulted bays from which open a series of radiating

[1] Enlart, p. 165; Schulz, i. 139.

apsidal chapels. These churches are, as far as their east ends are concerned, easily accounted for as the work of the French architects brought to Italy by their Norman founders, or of the bishops or other high dignitaries of the French church, who from time to time visited these regions.[1] They are the purest examples of the true Gothic to be found south of the Alps, and reproduce with close resemblance the chevets of many of the smaller churches of Auvergne, Poitou, and other provinces of Central France, where this form was common from the early years of the twelfth century.[2]

But the French architects, though the earliest and most active and instructed, were not the only ones by whom the Gothic influence was exerted in Italy at this period. The church of S. Andrea at Vercelli is nearly contemporary with that of Casamari, and is not less Gothic in its forms and construction; but the French, whether monks or architects, seem to have had nothing to do with its design. Its founder, Cardinal Guala Bicchieri, was a native of Vercelli and a canon of its cathedral, and had been sent as papal legate to France, and later to England, where he became possessed of considerable wealth through the favor of Henry III., whom he had apparently helped to establish on the throne. Returning from the latter country, he brought with him an English architect, John Brighinz or Brighinth, by whom, at the cost of the cardinal, the church was built in five or six years, the corner-stone having been laid February 20, 1219, and the consecration following in 1224. The cardinal died in 1227, leaving all his property to the church which he had founded. Such is the tradition. It must, however, be confessed that the presumption of the English origin of the church is not strongly borne out by any internal evidence. The general forms are for the most part substantially those of the churches already cited, but with differences of detail. (Fig. 341.) The east end has a more developed character than any previous example, except the Southern churches above cited, — a choir in two square

Vercelli, S. Andrea.

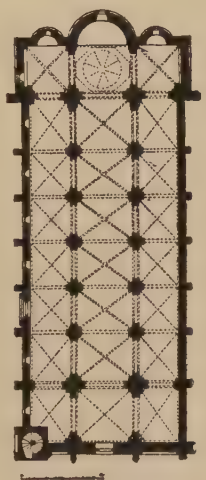

Fig. 340. Barletta. S. Sepolcro.

[1] Suget, abbot of S. Denis, is known to have come to Monte S. Angelo in 1122.

[2] Viollet le Duc, i., p. 6. It was a century later that this became the prevailing form in the great Northern cathedrals, e. g., Rheims, Amiens, Beauvais, Soissons, Noyon, Cologne, etc., etc.

bays flanked by two apsidal chapels on each side opening from the oblong bays of the transept, the apses being polygonal in plan, and lessening in projection towards the transept ends. The crossing is covered by a high pointed octagonal vault, with ribs springing from vaulting shafts attached to the great piers, and the change to the octagonal plan is effected by means of simple round-arched squinches. A reminder of the Lombard interiors is seen in the round-arched gallery which surrounds the base of the octagon. The nave and aisles are in six bays with sharply pointed nave arches, springing from circular piers surrounded by eight engaged shafts which take the spring of the arches and vault ribs, — a detail not unlike what is to be seen in certain of the English and French cathedrals,[1] but of which I know no other example in Italy. In the present instance the shafts are singularly managed. The curve of the circular pier projects slightly outside the face of the nave arches, and a small segment of it, with the three shafts attached, is carried up on the clerestory wall. The transverse arches which separate the bays are of stone; all others are of brick with occasional voussoirs of stone. The windows both of aisles and clerestory are small single round-arched openings as in the earlier Romanesque churches; but the east wall of the choir has a group of three pointed windows with deeply splayed and moulded jambs, and a rose window above. There is little sculpture; the capitals are mostly of the form which prevails in the earlier Gothic churches, but there are some instances of the Byzantine block capital.

The exterior has, except in a single particular, no suggestion of Gothic influence, but is purely Romanesque in style, with a high octagonal lantern in two well marked stages over the crossing, and a very extensive use both on the façade and the flanks of the church of the arcaded gallery which is so characteristic a feature of the Romanesque. The exception consists in the system of buttresses, which, timid and tentative as it is, is yet enough to give the church a stronger claim to be considered a Gothic structure than can be made in favor of any of its predecessors or contemporaries. The buttresses of the aisle and clerestory walls are strong, though not more so than at Fossanova and Casamari. But in S. Andrea, a low flying buttress springs from the top of the aisle buttress, and connects it with that of the clerestory. The arch is of brick, and rises but little above the aisle roof, and the lower buttress from which it springs is crowned by no pinnacle. But one of the most important

[1] Chapter-house at Wells, presbytery at Chichester, nave piers at Laon, etc.

principles of the true Gothic construction is here recognized as it had not before been in Italy; and had the Italian mind been open to the full appreciation of the Gothic constructive system, this might have proved to be the precursor of a line of churches having something of the character and development of the Northern Gothic.

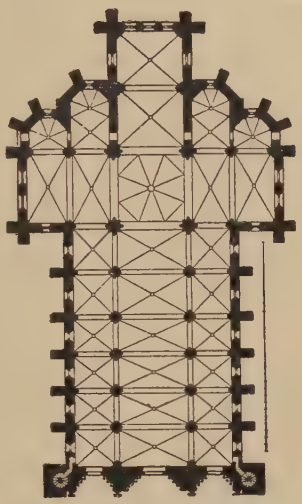

Fig. 341. Vercelli. S. Andrea.

The weakness of the hold which the Gothic architecture had upon the Italian builders is further shown in the fine cloister and chapter-house of S. Andrea, in both of which the round arch reappears; though in the arcades of the cloister, whose vault is without ribs or dividing arches, the grouped columns, with the rich foliage of their capitals, show a more frank adoption of French models than is to be found in any earlier example with which I am acquainted.

Closely contemporary with S. Andrea was the more important and famous church of S. Francesco at Assisi. This was perhaps the first instance of which we have any knowledge in which a competition was established to determine the architect, though this method of procuring plans seems to have been not uncommon in Italy at this period. The competition was held in 1228, less than two years after the death of St. Francis, — not only plans, but models being submitted for the judgment of the projectors, — and the work was given to a Tyrolese architect, one Jacob of Meran, concerning whom little is known, though much strife has been waged over his origin, his history, and even his identity. The foundations were begun in May, 1228, and the corner-stone was laid two months later by Pope Gregory IX. In 1230, the narrow crypt, hewn out of the rock, beneath the church was ready to receive the body of the saint,[1] and the work went steadily forward to its completion, the final consecration being solemnized in 1253 by Pope Innocent IV. During the later years the work was under the direction of Filippo di Campello, the successor of Jacob, and a Franciscan monk. The site chosen for the church, on the abrupt slope of the

Assisi, S. Francesco.

[1] This crypt has in modern times been expanded into a great Renaissance chapel, in the form of a rotunda with four apses and a small octagonal oratory opening from it.

hill on which the town is built, led to the building of a lower and an upper church, — the ground in front being terraced up to the level of the floor of the upper, and the lower being entered on the side, from one of the cloisters some twenty-five feet below the terrace. The lower church has a somewhat peculiar plan, with a transept at each end, and a nave and aisles connecting the two ; the aisles being, however, divided into rectangular chapels opening from the nave by pointed arches. The eastern transept[1] is really a narthex, with a doorway in the south end of it opening from the great court which flanks the church. Each transept is divided into three bays, and is terminated at each end (except that occupied by the doorway just mentioned) by a polygonal chapel of somewhat later date. The nave, about forty feet broad, is in three square bays, and is bounded by very low round arches carried on massive round piers eight feet in diameter and seven feet high, and similar arches divide the bays of the nave, which, as well as the square of the crossing, are covered by slightly domed four-part vaults, built on strong square ribs sixteen inches broad, the transept ends being covered by round barrel-vaults and the semicircular apse by a hemispherical semi-dome. The bays of the eastern transept or narthex are covered by sexpartite vaulting. The church is very sombre, nearly the only light coming from the small windows of the polygonal chapels of the transepts. All the surfaces are covered with frescoes, and the effect is that of a sumptuous crypt. (Figs. 342, 343, 344.)

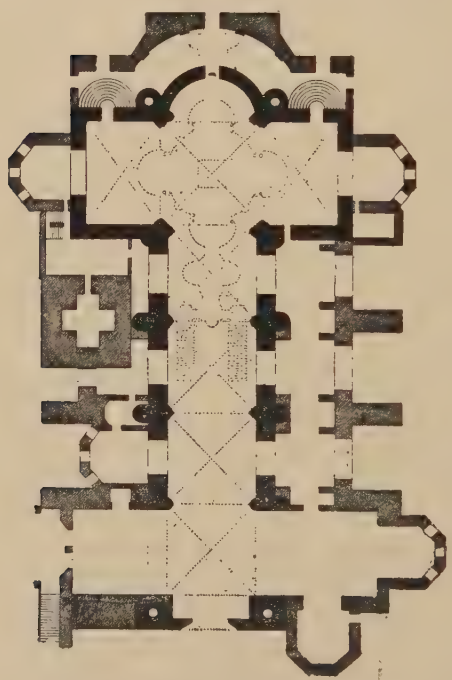

Fig. 342. Assisi. Plan of S. Francesco.

To this gloomy but impressive and beautiful interior, the upper church presents a striking and de-

[1] The church, owing to its peculiar position on the southwestern slope of the hill, has a reversed orientation, — the façade being towards the east.

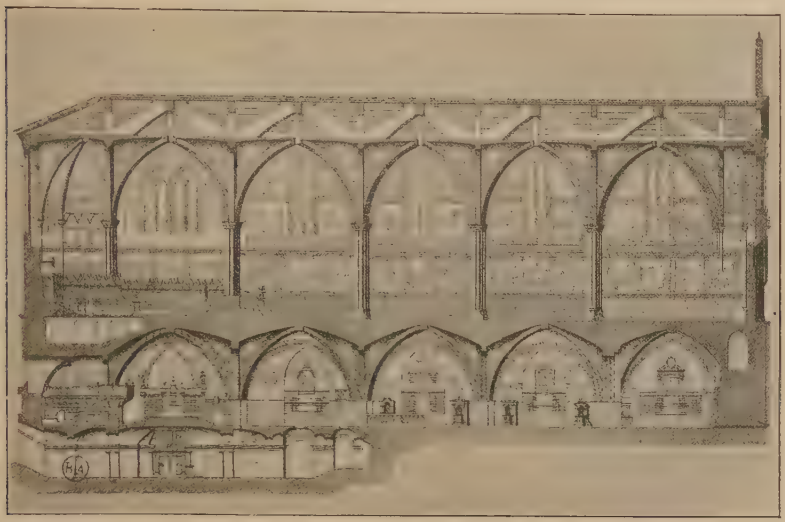

Fig. 343. Assisi. Longitudinal Section of S. Francesco.

lightful contrast. Its plan is a long Latin cross, the whole length being nearly two hundred and forty feet, with a breadth across the transept of one hundred feet. The nave has the breadth of the nave of the lower church, and there are no aisles, the walls of the nave being carried on the massive arcades of the nave below. The nave is in four square bays, the transept in three, with a polygonal apse opening from the middle bay over the round apse below, and the vaulting is uniform throughout, the bays being separated by high pointed arches springing, like the vaulting ribs, from slender grouped shafts, engaged on the nave walls and rising from the pavement. The vaults are highly pointed, with unusually large chamfered ribs without mouldings. Their thrust is resisted on the nave walls by heavy round buttresses like turrets, rising from the piers of the lower church to the full height of the nave wall, and by low arched flying buttresses connecting these with the outer walls of the chapels of the lower church. The arches, however, abut upon the vertical buttresses at so low a point that the reinforcement they bring can hardly be very effective.

The design of the interior is quite unlike that of any preceding building in Italy, yet it would be hard to point out its prototype in France, England, or Germany. The whole height is about sixty feet, yet such is the breadth of the arches which divide the wall that their height is nearly equal to that of the piers from which they spring.

In each arch of the nave is a high and narrow two-light pointed window, the lights being separated, not by a column, as has heretofore been the invariable rule in Italy, but by a true Gothic chamfered mullion. A similar window occupies each face of the apse. In the transept ends this window is doubled, and the two pairs are brought together under a broad pointed bearing-arch with a quatrefoil in the head. The wall below the windows is broken only by the dividing piers, and is of superior thickness, so that at the point where the wall is thinned, sufficient breadth is left for a narrow gallery, which runs quite around the church, cutting through the masonry of the deep wall arches. In the side walls of transepts and choir, where there are no windows, this gallery is faced by a light and graceful arcade of narrow cusped arches, on slender columns with foliage capitals of a distinctly French type; and above the arcade is a second gallery, protected by a low fence wall.

It will be seen that the whole design of this interior is of the simplest character. Except for the gallery arcade even the stern Cistercians could not have built with more severe restraint, so far as the architectural forms were concerned. But the decoration which was applied to these broad walls and arches and vaults made the church one of the richest and most sumptuous in Italy. With the

Fig. 344. Assisi. S. Francesco. Lower Church.

Fig. 345. Assisi. S. Francesco. Upper Church.

exception of the mosaic decorations of Palermo and Venice, from fifty to a hundred years earlier than the church of Assisi, we must go back to the sixth century to find any example of such a complete and consistent decoration of a church interior. But there is no mosaic in S. Francesco; the decoration is in fresco. Every portion of the surface is covered with painting, — whether of figure subjects representing the legends of the church, including a series of twenty-eight pictures illustrating the history of St. Francis and attributed to Giotto; or of arabesques and bands of various design on the shafts and ribs and soffits, and in the borders of the vault cells; or of scattered stars on a blue ground, as in the broad surfaces of the vaults. The lower church is not less rich than the upper, and a series of heads and half-length figures enclosed in squares or lozenges on the soffits of the broad vaulting ribs are of wonderful delicacy and beauty; while the vaults are covered with pictorial subjects which recall the frescoes of Fra Angelico in the cathedral of Orvieto. When we add that the windows both of the lower and the upper church are filled with excellent stained glass, partly contemporary and partly of the fourteenth century, it will be seen that the liberation from the bondage of the Cistercian asceticism is complete and permanent; and although in the matter of pure decoration no church in Italy for three hundred years rivalled the luxury of San Francesco, yet during the whole of that time the use of fresco painting in churches to a

greater or less extent was common, and schools of religious art were developed by the stimulus thus afforded.

Strong as was the Gothic influence in the interior of this fine church, it was not strong enough to affect sensibly the exterior. (Fig. 346.) The façade is a mere screen, quite without relation to what is behind it, with a gable rising far above the flat roof, and in which the only concession to the Gothic spirit is the doorway, which is a double pointed and cusped arch, under a broad enclosing arch. Above it is a fine rose, and these, with a small circle in the gable, are the only openings in the front. On the south flank, the doorway of the lower church, under its round-arched porch, shows a similar concession, while the great turret-like buttresses of the upper church with their low flying buttresses do in a measure exhibit the Gothic constructive principles, though in a singularly clumsy way. The west, or choir end, shows the circular apse of the lower church with three small single-pointed windows, and above it the polygonal apse of the upper church with the tall two-light window in each face. The apse is flanked on either side by a round turret similar to the wall buttresses of the upper church. It will be seen that with the exception of the flying buttresses, scarcely a hint is given in this exterior of the interior design or construction.

But the reluctance to abandon the old forms is even more strongly shown in the campanile, a broad square tower occupying the angle between the nave and the south transept, and in which, though it is certainly somewhat later than the church, the forms of the Lombard Romanesque are adhered to with absolute strictness. All the features of the typical Lombard tower — the horizontal division into stages by thin arched corbel-tables, the vertical division into panels by flat pilaster strips, the small grouped round-arched openings divided by midwall shafts, the simple round arches of the belfry stage — are here, undisturbed by the intrusion of a single Gothic feature.

Absence of spires in Italy.

It is not easy to explain why the conservatism of the Italians should have been so much more obstinate in the exterior of their buildings than in the interior; and especially why so little concession should have been made in the architecture of their towers. But this is the rule all through Italy up to the time of the Renaissance, and few exceptions can be cited. There are, to be sure, some towers in which the Lombard features are less insisted on, and in which the pointed arch is used in the openings; but there is no example in Italy, so far as I know, of a tower ending in a true spire, — the Gothic form of roof, prepared for from the

foundation, and forming the only logical and consistent termination to the design.

We find, indeed, examples in which the tower roof is so steep and high as to approach the proportion of a spire, as S. M. Novella in Florence and S. Gottardo in Milan, and we hear of towers, like the campanile of Giotto at Florence, in which a spire had been a part of

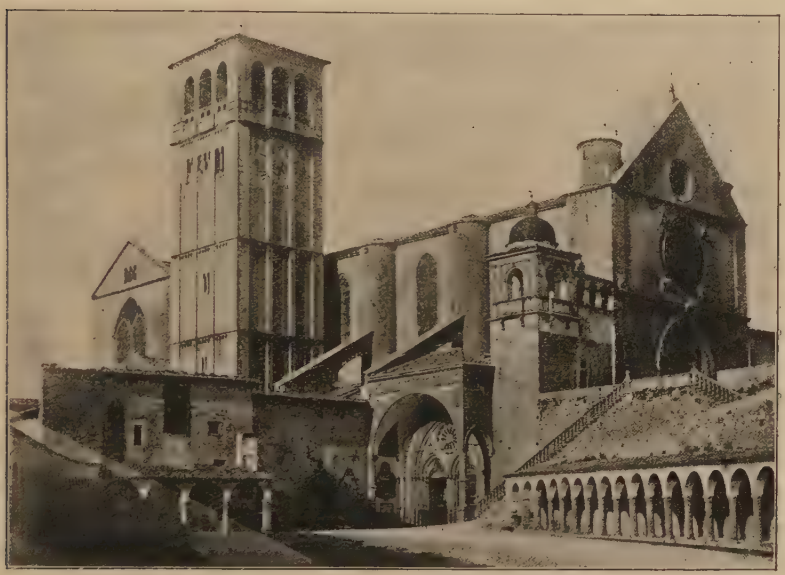

Fig. 346. Assisi. S. Francesco. Exterior.

the original design, but, whether from failure of resources or a radical disaffection towards that termination, was never executed. But every such instance does but confirm the conviction that the spire was never a congenial feature in Italian architecture.

The interest of S. Francesco is greatly heightened by its connection with the great monastery of which the buildings lie adjacent to it on the west and south. They are of great extent, surrounding several cloisters and courts of various sizes and shapes, the principal cloister lying directly behind the apse of the church. Owing to their position on the sharply sloping hillside, they are carried on long lines of tall battering arcades, and the view of them from the lower country is most imposing and picturesque. The buildings have been allowed to fall much into dilapidation, but the refectory is still a fine apartment enclosed on one side and one

Monastery of San Francesco.

end by noble arcades of pointed arches with jamb-shafts and strong mouldings, the broad galleries divided by pointed arches into square bays covered by barrel-vaults. The old cemetery of the monks opens from a chapel of the lower church. It is enclosed by a decaying cloister with broad segmental arches carried on octagonal brick piers, and a low gallery above. The monastery is nearly contemporary with the church, and its design is attributed to Lapo, perhaps the first of the noted family of whom Arnolfo (now called *di Cambio*) was long believed to be a member.[1]

So conspicuous and beautiful a church as San Francesco could hardly fail, one would suppose, to create a class of similar structures wherever it became known. Yet the example of a one-aisled church seems to have been followed only in a very few instances, and those are mostly of small importance, as the churches of San Francesco at Perugia (built originally without aisles, but modernized with the addition of those features in the fifteenth century), Terni, Gualdo Tadino, Pistoia, and Pisa. The last two have no vaulting in the nave, and the Pisan church has none in either nave or transept.

A curious instance of the immediate repetition of an admired design is seen at Assisi in the church of Sta. Chiara, begun in 1257 in commemoration of the pupil and cherished friend of St. Francis, who died about the time of the completion of his church. Its architect was that Philip of Campello under whom the larger church was finished. It is a copy, as nearly exact as the resources of the builders permitted, of the upper church of San Francesco, a nave in four square bays, covered by pointed ribbed vaults, no aisles, a short transept, a polygonal apse, and the little gallery of communication which we saw in San Francesco, carried around the walls. The imitation is close, but the charm of the original is wanting, and the interior is bare and cold. On the exterior the imitation is not less careful, and becomes even slavish by the adoption of features which have here no structural propriety. The side walls are reinforced by the same round turret-like buttresses as in San Francesco. In Sta. Chiara these would have probably been quite sufficient to meet and control the thrust of the nave vaulting. But the architect has copied also the flying buttresses of the older church, which, as they have here neither aisles nor lower church to rise from, are made to rise from the ground on either side and to spread out from the side walls to a breadth of fifty feet,

Assisi, S. Chiara.

[1] Wiebeking, vol. ii., p. 226–228, pl. 75; Mothes, p. 454; Schnaase, vol. vii., p. 127; Enlart, p. 186.

nearly equal to that of the church itself. The effect is grotesque.[1]

It results from the languid and partial manner in which the Italian builders received and adopted the Gothic style, that there was no uniformity in their use of it, and no development of it as its use became more familiar to them. The Northern manner of treating the style involved the almost invariable use of the oblong bay in the nave and the square bay in the aisles, the number of bays being the same in each. The Italians, accustomed to the broad square bay of the Lombard naves, never willingly abandoned it; the instances to the contrary may generally be traced to some influence from without, as in the case of the Cistercians. As examples of the common treatment in the earlier Gothic churches, — those before the end of the thirteenth century, which are not numerous, — we may cite Santa Maria della Misericordia at Ancona, San Francesco at Corneto, San Anastasia at Verona, the cathedral of San Pietro at Arezzo and Santa

Fig. 347. Assisi. S. Chiara.

Maria Novella at Florence. The last two are exactly contemporary, the former having been begun in 1277, and the latter in 1278;

[1] Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, p. 311; Enlart, p. 195.

but they are wholly unlike in plan and disposition. San Pietro has a nave in six square bays, with arcades of pointed arches separating it from the side aisles. The arches spring from compound piers with four octagonal and four circular members, of which the former take the arches of the nave arcades and the transverse arches of nave and aisles, and the latter the diagonal vaulting ribs. There is no transept, and the apse is of a form unusual in Italy, the nave terminating in a semi-octagon, as broad and high as itself. The aisles have rather high pointed windows in side and end walls, and in the apsidal choir are three fine and very lofty two-light pointed windows, with columnar mullions and jambs, — the latter with four orders of shafts and arch mouldings. So much of really fine Gothic detail satisfied the architect,[1] and the clerestory is lighted only by a bare round opening in each bay. The exterior shows everywhere the predilection for the older Romanesque forms; the roofs are flat, the walls of aisles and clerestory and choir are divided into bays by flat pilaster-strips joined at the top by arched corbel-tables, and a hexagonal bell-tower stands on the north of the choir,

Arezzo, S. Pietro.

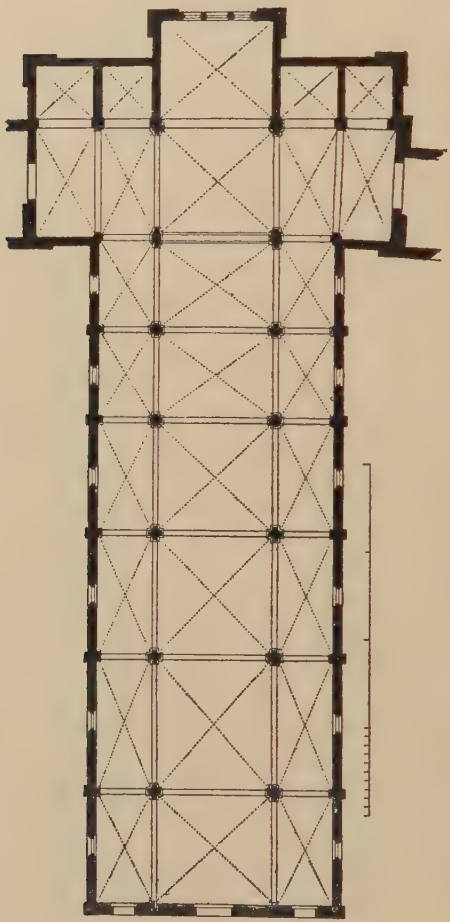

Fig. 348. Florence. S. M. Novella.

[1] The church has been attributed by Vasari to "Jacopo Tadesco," the same Jacob of Meran who was the architect of S. Francesco at Assisi, but who appears to have died as early as 1252, a quarter of a century before S. Pietro was begun. With more probability, it is credited to Margheritone, a citizen of Arezzo, of whom we hear that he was called to Ancona in 1270 to build a palace, and that he was concerned while there with some portion of the works of S. Ciriaco. See Mothes, p. 754; Schnaase, vii., p. 166.

Fig. 349. Arezzo. East End of S. Pietro.

with three stages, of which the two upper have a single narrow pointed opening in each face, pilaster strips at the angles joined by an arcaded cornice and string-course, and a flat roof. The apse, however, offers a contrast to the general treatment in the long, narrow, pointed windows which fill its faces. (Fig. 349.)

Santa Maria Novella, built from the design of two Dominican monks, Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro, is of very different character. Like San Pietro, it has a nave and aisles, each in six vaulted bays, square in the nave and oblong in the aisles, with pointed arcades carried on piers whose plan is a square with an engaged shaft on each face. But here the nave and aisles form but one arm of a well-developed Latin cross, three hundred and twenty feet long and eighty-eight feet wide, the transept being in three square bays, like the bays of the nave, those of the transept ends having an eastern chapel opening from each bay, and flanking the square bay of the choir, — the Cistercian arrangement, but frequently adopted by the Dominicans and Franciscans.[1] Two

S. Maria Novella, Florence.

[1] The Cistercians had from the first no monopoly in this effective arrangement. In S. Francesco at Pistoia (1294) the choir has two square chapels on each side, in

great square chapels, probably of somewhat later date, open from the north and south ends of the transept, — their floors raised several feet above the floor of the transept. (Fig. 348.)

The interior well illustrates the inevitable failure of the Italian builders to catch the Gothic idea, either in construction or design. The aisles are low, yet there is no proper clerestory; the spring of the nave vaults is below the crown of the arches of the nave arcades, and the nave is lighted only by round windows under the wall arches

Fig. 350. Florence. S. M. Novella.

of the vaults. These vaults are buttressed in the Lombard manner by ramping walls of masonry, built up on the transverse arches of the aisles, and carried up slightly above the aisle roofs.

The same may be said, but more emphatically, of the exterior, of which the only notable portion is the façade. (Fig. 350.) Of this, the present aspect is due to Leon Battista Alberti, who remodelled it about 1470, the only reminder of its original design being the blind arcade of four tall round arches on either side of the central door-

S. Francesco at Pisa of the same date there are three, in S. Francesco at Siena four, and in S. Croce at Florence five.

way, — a feature very common in the Lombard churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as the cathedral of Modena, Santa Maria Maggiore at Bergamo, Santa Sofia at Padua, and many others. The tall, slender campanile on the north flank of the church is wholly Lombard.

San Francesco at Bologna, an earlier church than the three last mentioned, nearly or quite contemporary, indeed, with San Francesco at Assisi, is interesting as showing, on the one hand, a partial recurrence to the Lombard arrangement of vaulting, and on the other, the adoption in a rather clumsy form of a characteristically Gothic feature. The nave is in one oblong and three square bays, the latter with sexpartite vaults, and is separated by pointed arcades with octagonal piers from the aisles, which are each in seven square bays with four-part vaults. There is no difference in the form or size of the piers, which are of brick, with moulded capitals; but those which determine the division of the aisles, and which are properly intermediate piers, are precisely similar to those which carry also the transverse arches of the nave vaults. An arrangement more completely logical is that of the typical Lombard churches, as San Ambrogio at Milan and San Michele at Pavia, where an intermediate column takes the place of the pier, — where, however, the nave vaults are in four parts instead of six, — and later in the monastic church of San Martino at Cimino, referred to on a

Bologna, San Francesco.

Fig. 351. Bologna. East End of S. Francesco.

previous page, where in the transepts the intermediate column is used, in connection with a sexpartite vault.[1]

To this essentially Lombard plan is added in S. Francesco an eastern termination very unlike anything in Lombard architecture. The choir is an oblong groined bay with a polygonal apse, surrounded by an ambulatory in two square and nine trapezoidal bays, from which open as many square radiating chapels covered with groined vaults. The exterior triangles between the chapels are not filled with masonry, but the chapels are connected on the exterior by a flat arch crowned by a low wall set a little back from their outer faces. (Fig. 351.) The arrangement is like that of S. Antonio at Padua and S. Domenico at Bologna. The vault of the choir, as well as those of the nave, is reinforced by bold flying buttresses above the aisle roofs. Those of the nave are curiously placed, opposite the intermediate ribs of the sexpartite vaults, alternating thus with the wall buttresses over the main piers. Although in this church, as in most of the others of its class, there is no proper clerestory, yet the vault of the nave is so highly pointed as to allow height under its wall arches for pointed windows of lancet form, whose opening is closed, as in some of the early basilicas, by a thin slab of travertine pierced with small circular openings. The interior has thus, in spite of its imperfect development, more nearly the aspect of a Gothic church than is often seen in Italy.[2] (Fig. 352.)

In Rome the building of churches had ceased for a period of nearly or quite three hundred years, — the last of the basilicas being, as I have said in an earlier chapter, San Bartolommeo in Isola and San Cosimato in Trastevere, both of which date from near the close of the tenth century. But in 1285 a convent of Dominicans was founded in Rome, and before the end of the century a church was begun in connection with it, on the ruins of an ancient temple of Minerva behind the Pantheon. The church was given the name of Sta. Maria Sopra Minerva. It is the only church in Rome in which the Gothic style is recognized, and like the other examples which I have mentioned, but even more emphatically than most of them, it illustrates the entire failure on the part of the Italian builders to appreciate or to comprehend the Gothic principles or spirit. Some writers — among them Schnaase and Mothes — attribute the design of the church to the pair of monks, Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro, who were the architects of S. M. Novella of Florence, and who appear to have been in Rome at the time of its

Rome, S. M. Sopra Minerva.

[1] See p. 152, *ante*.

[2] Enlart, p. 190; Thode, op. cit., p. 333.

Fig. 352. Interior of S. Francesco.

commencement. And indeed in many respects of plan and design it bears some resemblance to the Florentine church. Nave and aisles are each in six bays, those of the nave square, those of the aisles oblong, with rectangular chapels opening from them. The transept ends are in one square bay each, corresponding in breadth to the aisles and chapels, and the crossing is simply a square bay like the bays of the nave. From it on the east opens the square bay of the choir, terminating in a semicircular apse, and flanked by two chapels on either side, corresponding to the bays of the transept ends. All the bays are covered by pointed groined vaults with small and inconspicuous ribs. The arcades of the naves are of pointed arches with flat, broad soffits, springing from square piers with an engaged column on each face, of which the capitals are of a Corinthian character. The spring of the vaults of the nave is on a level with the crown of the nave arches, and the nave is lighted only by cusped round windows under the wall arches of the vaults.[1]

I have said that S. M. Sopra Minerva is the only Gothic church in Rome. But as early as 1277 the ancient chapel of S. Lorenzo, attached to the palace of the Lateran, was rebuilt by one of the Cosmati[2] under the direction of Pope Nicholas

Rome, Sancta Sanctorum.

[1] Mothes, p. 711; Schnaase, vii., p. 168.

[2] The authorship of the design is certified by a tablet near the entrance bearing the inscription: "X Magister Cosmatus fecit hoc opus."

III., with a tolerably strict adherence to Gothic forms. It is the chapel now known as the Sancta Sanctorum, which is approached by the Scala Santa, and is the only remaining fragment of the great papal palace which lay to the southwest of the basilica, and in which it was the private chapel or oratory of the popes as long as they continued to inhabit the Lateran. It is a square of twenty-three feet, with a low rectangular recess opening from one side with a gallery above it. The main square is covered by a pointed groined vault, with ribs springing from clumsy angle shafts with coarse Corinthian capitals, and is lighted by a narrow lancet window under the wall arch of the vault on each side. Below the springing of the vault a graceful arcade of cusped and pointed arches, seven on each side, supported on slender twisted columns, and crowned by gables, encircles the room on all four sides. Each arch contains a standing figure of a saint, in fresco, and the whole arcade, as well as the walls and vault, is richly decorated in color. A fine mosaic representing the head of Christ borne up by winged seraphim, and dating, perhaps, from the eighth century, adorns the vault.[1]

Siena Cathedral.

While these works were going on in Rome and Florence and Bologna, the people of Siena were carrying forward, with much discussion and many interruptions, their great cathedral, — the most ambitious work which had been undertaken in Italy since the building of the cathedral of Pisa two centuries before. There is no contemporary record of the date at which this work was begun, but the year 1245 has been generally regarded as the year of its commencement, and is so declared by Malavotti, the historian of Siena, who wrote at the close of the sixteenth century. Like Pisa in 1070, Siena had in the thirteenth century grown to be prosperous and rich, and the building of the new cathedral was stimulated by the civic pride and ambition of the citizens. The cathedral was their work, and not the work of the clergy. "It was," says Mr. Norton, "a civic much more than an ecclesiastical work, and the votes of a majority in the popular assembly determined not only how it should be carried on, but elected the architect and the overseers, who were to be engaged on the building. Bishop and clergy exercised no authority over it. The lay democracy were the rulers in all that concerned it."[2] No more striking illustration could be cited of the transformation which the thirteenth century had wrought in the life of the people, and of the independence, activity, and energy which now characterized it.

[1] R. de Fleury, *Le Latran au Moyen Age*, pls. 57, 58.
[2] *Church-building in the Middle Ages*, p. 91.

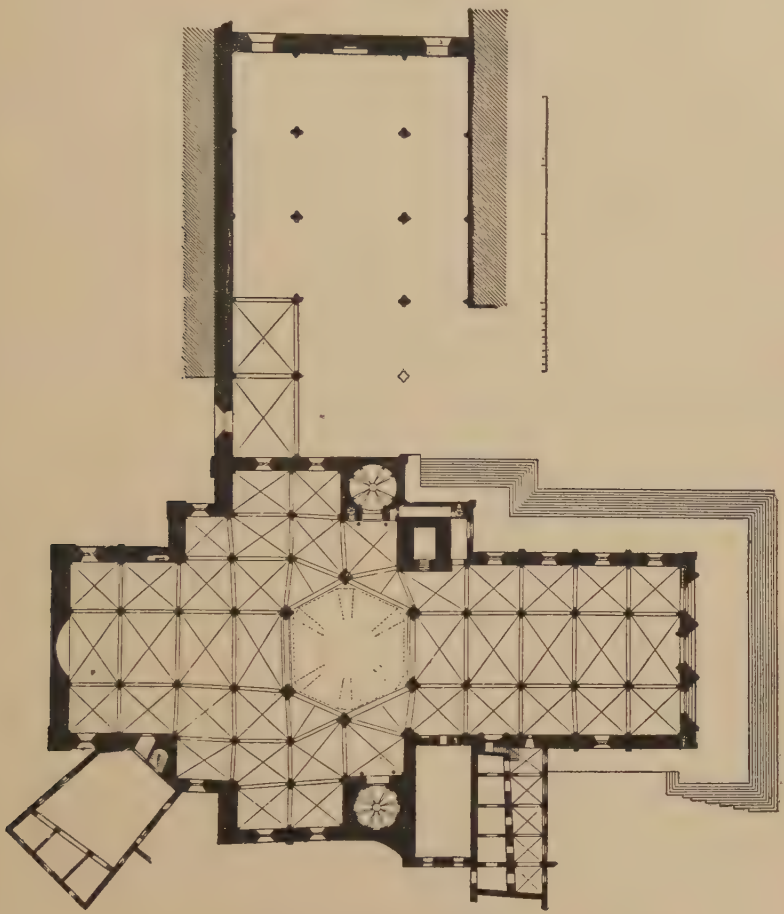

Fig. 353. Siena Cathedral.

The architect under whom the cathedral was begun is not known. As the work went on, it was for perhaps twenty-five years under the direction of monks from the neighboring abbey of S. Galgano, who acted one after another as "magister operis lapidum."[1] The plan is cruciform, though the prolonged choir which makes the eastern arm of the cross was an addition of later date. The nave and aisles are in five bays each, oblong in the nave and square in the aisles. The arcades are of round arches carried on piers, of which the plan

[1] Enlart attributes so large a degree of influence to the monks of S. Galgano as to maintain that the church of that monastery was the model of the cathedral of Siena; p. 17–158.

is a square with a rather stout engaged column on each face; that towards the nave being carried up through the pier capital, and losing itself in a curious bracketted and boldly projecting cornice which runs above the nave arcades, and which is adorned with a long succession of heads of the Popes in high relief enclosed in terra-cotta panels. The four-part vaults are pointed in the nave, but round in the aisles. The spandrils of the nave arcades are occupied by roundels containing heads in high relief. The clerestory, which seems from an exterior view to have considerable height, appears on the interior to be little more than the space of wall enclosed by the wall arches of the vaults, but it has in each bay a fine pointed three-light window with traceried head, which is almost the only really Gothic feature in the church. The arrangement of the transept is singularly irregular, and will be more readily comprehended from the plan (Fig. 353) than from a description. The lantern which surmounts the crossing rests on six piers at the angles of a hexagon, but becomes twelve-sided above by means of large but simple squinches, under which are standing statues on columns which rise from the pavement. Above these the base of the lantern is encircled by a colonnade of slender shafts, which instead of supporting arches, as one would expect, carry only a decorated horizontal frieze. The intervals are filled with standing figures of the prophets. The dome itself is oval in plan, and its inner surface is deeply panelled and decorated. It appears to have been finished in 1264.

The theory which determined the position of the lantern on the plan is not easily understood, but it is possible that the transept may have been broadened eastward at the time when the choir was prolonged. Its peculiar plan results in a series of triangular and trapezoidal bays whose vaults are extremely awkward and unmanageable.

The choir, which perhaps consisted originally of only two oblong bays flanked by two square chapels on each side, was prolonged early in the fourteenth century as part of a project for the building of a baptistery at the foot of the cliff which bounded the plateau on which the cathedral had been built. The addition of two bays to the choir would carry it over the proposed baptistery, of the front of which the east end of the cathedral would thus be a crowning stage. The project met with much opposition, — which was strengthened by the judgment of five experts, chief among whom was Lorenzo Maitani, the architect of the cathedral of Orvieto then building, to the effect that the proposed lengthening of the church would not

Fig. 354. Siena. Interior of Cathedral.

only injure its architectural effect, but would endanger its stability. Th people, however, unwilling to abandon so alluring a project, and distrusting, perhaps wisely, the judgment of the experts, referred the decision of the question first to a meeting of seventy-five of "the best and wisest men of the city," and next to the General Council of

citizens, who by a vote of one hundred and forty-nine to seventy-three declared that the work should be proceeded with.[1] The choir was thus made to consist of four central oblong bays, flanked on each side by an aisle of four square bays, the arrangement being precisely a continuation of that of the nave. The east end is square, with a flat segmental niche in the centre, and over it a large circular window.

The church is built of rich materials; the walls and piers are everywhere of marble, and laid in alternate courses of black and white, and the pavement is of extraordinary elaborateness, some portions being decorated merely in sgraffito, others with an inlay of white and gray marble, the subjects being scenes from the Old Testament treated by Duccio, Beccafumi, and other artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The pulpit is one of the most famous of the works of Nicolo Pisano.

It would be difficult to explain why this noble interior should always have been classed among the examples of Italian Gothic. Certainly its round arches and vaults, its panelled soffits, its bracketted cornices, its colonnades and the general scheme of decoration have very little in common with the Gothic churches of the North, or even of those of the Cistercian monasteries of Italy, of Assisi or Bologna. Yet its effect is far from that of a Romanesque interior, and perhaps the pointed arches of the greater cathedrals of Florence and Bologna do not bring them sensibly nearer to a Gothic character.

The exterior of the cathedral, though still far enough from possessing the true Gothic character, is more infused with the new taste which was the result of such familiarity with the Gothic forms as had been possible to the Italian builders. The design of the façade, which was not begun till 1284, when the church was very nearly finished as far as its original plan was concerned, was the work of Giovanni Pisano, the son of the more famous Nicola, the most justly eminent of Italian decorative sculptors, who had, twenty years earlier, executed the pulpit of the cathedral and that of the baptistery of Pisa.[2] The façade is a composition perfectly characteristic of the

[1] Norton, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–149.

[2] Nicola himself died about the time when the building of the façade was determined on, and the works he had in hand were now to be carried out by his son and other pupils. His last work was probably the beautiful fountain in the public square at Perugia, dating from 1278 to 1280. Milanesi, in his *Documenti*, gives the contract for the Siena pulpit by which Nicola binds himself to begin the work March 1, 1266, and to bring with him his assistants, Lapo and Arnolfo, and his son Giovanni, and to live in Siena during

national passion for lavish adornment, with perhaps somewhat less than the usual national indifference to congruity and consistency between the exterior and interior. The lower half of the front is occupied entirely by a great triple-arched porch, flanked by strong angle buttresses, which act as the bases of light towers ending in stumpy spires which rise above the roofs. The central arch is round, the others are pointed, and all are deeply splayed, with jamb-shafts and enriched arch-mouldings, and covered by sharp crocketted gables, separated by pinnacles in whose faces are niches with statues, and which are crowned each by a standing figure. The upper portion is

Fig. 355. Siena. Cathedral.

in three compartments, answering to the breadth of nave and aisles, and separated by turrets ending in groups of enriched pinnacles. The central compartment is filled by a great round window without

the progress of the work, reserving, however, the right to make a quarterly visit to Pisa of fourteen days, to attend to his own private affairs, and to supervise the works on the cathedral and baptistery which he had still in charge. His salary was fixed at eight soldi a day. The silver soldo was worth about twelve cents. Mothes, p. 745; Norton, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 129.

tracery, of the full width of the nave, set in a square composed of small gabled niches enclosing statues. The side compartments, much lower than the central one, have each a blind arcade enclosing statues. All the compartments are covered by sharp gables rising far above the roofs behind, and covered, as is every portion of the façade, with sculptured ornament.

The flanks of the church, naturally more quiet than the façade, are yet not out of keeping with it. The north flank, mostly hidden by crowding buildings, is very plain ; on the south the composition is an admirable union of richness and simplicity. Square buttresses of no great projection crowned by statues above the roofs, divide the wall both of aisle and clerestory into bays, in each of which is a single pointed window. In the aisle these windows are enriched by slender angle-shafts, and the arch is covered by high crocketted gables with tracery, flanked by pinnacles. In the clerestory, the windows are divided into three lights, and the arch head is filled by tracery. The treatment of the wall surface is very different in the two stages. In the aisle the striping is less marked, the black courses being not more than one fifth as broad as the white, while in the clerestory the black and white courses are of nearly equal breadth, as in the interior. The tall, square campanile occupies the angle of the south aisle and transept. The portion above the aisle walls is a hundred years later than the façade of the cathedral, dating from the last years of the fourteenth century.

The east end of the cathedral, which, from its position on the edge of the cliff, dominates the city, was the latest portion of the body of the church, undertaken after the abandonment of the great scheme for a new church, and remains still unfinished. Its design is attributed to Giovanni di Pellicajo, and is of great richness. The lower stage forms the front of the baptistery of San Giovanni, and has, like the façade of the cathedral, three great doorways, the middle one round-arched, and covered by a high gable, with crockets, finial, and tracery, the sides pointed obtusely, and without gables. A second stage consisted originally of a graceful blind arcade of narrow pointed and gabled arches, of which the supporting shafts have disappeared. Above this, the third stage, which makes the east wall of the choir of the cathedral, has three fine, two-light pointed windows, with splayed columnar jambs and arch mouldings, covered by high decorated gables, very like those of the south aisle. (Fig. 356.)

The most interesting feature in the history of this cathedral is the

project — which was conceived and partially executed — for its extension. Not long after the decision to prolong the choir over the baptistery, and while that work was still in progress, the growing ambition of the people of Siena, fostered greatly during the first half of the fourteenth century by the increasing prosperity and wealth of the city, found expression in the demand for a cathedral of much greater extent and splendor than that which was now drawing near completion. A design was adopted, of which unhappily the author is not known, by which the present cathedral was to become the transept of the completed edifice, a new nave and aisles being added to the south of it. "The project," says Mr. Norton, "was brought before the Council of the Bell on the 23d of August, 1339, and before the popular assembly broke up that afternoon, it was resolved by 212 votes against 132, that a new nave should be built, according to the plan proposed; provided, however, that the work now in progress should be proceeded with diligently." The new building was begun in February of the next year, and seems to have gone forward with vigor, in spite of famine and pestilence, until in 1348 Siena was stricken with the frightful plague which carried off in a single summer eighty thousand of her people, and paralyzed for a generation the life of the city. The works of the cathedral came to a stop, or progressed but languidly, until in 1357 an examination of the newer portions already completed revealed some alarming defects and

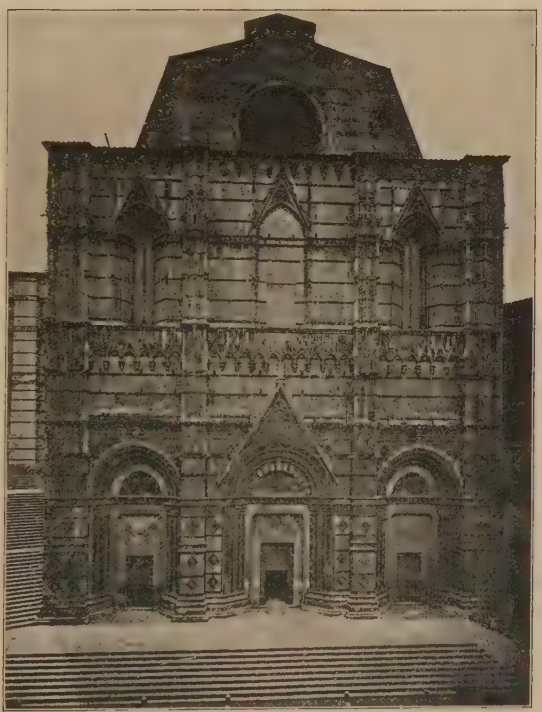

Fig. 356. Siena. East End of Cathedral.

weaknesses in the piers and vaulting, and the experts by whom the examination was made recommended that a considerable part of them should be taken down. This was the end of the splendid project. Yet, as late as 1435, we find the General Council appointing Jacopo della Quercia master of the works, "operaio," with a salary of one hundred florins a year, "donec vixeret." [1]

The portions which remain standing of the newer work comprise two bays of the easterly aisle, with the nave arcade and a portion of the front wall. The architecture is of a noble simplicity and grandeur, greatly superior in scale and design to that of the cathedral which we see to-day, though similar in character. The great nave arches, five on each side, are nearly forty feet in span, and the nave would have had a breadth of some forty-five feet and a height of over a hundred feet. The long, pointed, two-light windows of the aisles are divided in the centre by a transom, and the arch-head is filled with tracery. All the detail is of more delicate character than in the older church, and the walls and piers, instead of being equally divided between black and white stripes, are of white marble, with narrow courses of black occupying not more than a fifth of the surface. The treatment of the exterior ornament is of great refinement and beauty. The small doorway, in particular, in the bay of the aisle nearest the old cathedral (Fig. 357), reminds one strongly of the nearly contemporary doors and windows of the flanks of the Florence cathedral, which have been attributed to Giotto. The splayed jambs are highly decorated, with a slender twisted column on the outside, and support a similarly moulded pointed arch, enclosing a beautiful group of figures in relief, and crowned by a sharply pointed gable with crockets and finial, flanked by pinnacles of exquisite design, with statues on their faces and summits. There can be no question that, had this project been carried to completion, Siena would have possessed the finest church in Italy.

I have given so much space to the cathedral of Siena, because like the neighboring cathedrals of Pisa and Florence it was the direct and forcible expression of the civic pride and ambition of the people, and because its history and vicissitudes, as connected with those of the city, are, fortunately, to be traced so distinctly in the contemporary records. In the case of Orvieto, whose cathedral is usually, on account of the great similarity of their façcades, coupled with that of Siena, the moving power of those popular qualities of which I have spoken is shown perhaps even more remarkably, inasmuch as

[1] Gaye, *Carteggio*, p. 135, vol. i.

Fig. 357. Siena. Doorway in New Portion.

Orvieto, withdrawn on its magnificent rock from all participation in the commercial rivalries of the Italian cities, was never conspicuously rich or powerful, yet did not shrink from an enterprise for which its resources would seem to have been far from adequate.

Orvieto Cathedral.

The cathedral of Orvieto is a much less important monument than that of Siena, in spite of its superior dimensions, and has still less the aspect of a Gothic church. Its plan is in effect a Latin cross — though the transepts are not projecting — with a great nave fifty-six feet wide and one hundred and ninety feet long, with arcades of six round arches on each side, carried on round piers treated as columns, though built in courses, with foliated capitals of which the abaci are generally octagonal. (Fig. 359.) The arcade is surmounted by a strongly projecting cornice, which supports a narrow gallery with a low fence divided into square panels pierced with quatrefoils. Above this is the high undivided clerestory wall with a single tall pointed window over each arch. The ceilings show the open framing of the roof, except in the square bay of the crossing and the square choir, which opens from it, each of which is covered by a simple four-part vault, that of the crossing springing from clustered piers at the angles. The choir has in its east wall a tall two-light pointed window, with very poor and thin tracery. The aisles have each a series of small semicircular apses, used as chapels, placed quite without relation to the columns of the arcade. The walls and piers are everywhere in equal courses of black and white marble.

Of the exterior, the façade, begun in 1310, twenty years after the church itself was founded, is the only portion which has received any special architectural treatment, and no attempt whatever has been made to bring it into harmony with the other parts of the church. It is a mere frontispiece, of which the architecture and decoration are carried around on the flanks about six feet on either side, or scarcely more than the thickness of the wall, while its gables soar far above the roofs behind them. Its architect was Lorenzo Maitani, a Sienese of whom little is known beyond his connection with this single work.[1] The façade is not only inspired by that of the cathedral of Siena, but is in form nearly a reproduction of it. Here are the same triple-arched and gabled porch, the centre arch round, the side arches pointed, the same four buttresses ending in pinnacles, the same three high gables crowning the three compartments, the same great circular window in the central compartment, the same delicate adornment of arcades and niches. But the architect of Orvieto has refined greatly upon his model, and in almost every feature we note a more vigorous hand and a truer eye, and in the ensemble a firmer grasp of the principles of composition. At Siena there is no connection or harmony between the upper and lower stages of the front. The three doorways of the lower story are of equal breadth and importance, while in the upper story the central compartment, with its great rose, is very properly of superior width as compared with the side compartments, and thus the buttresses which separate the compartments start from the belt course, not over the piers of the lower story, but over the haunches of the side doorway arches. At Orvieto the superiority of the central compartment is maintained throughout, and the buttresses which divide it from the side compartments start from the ground, and are continued through the whole height of the façade. (Fig. 360.)

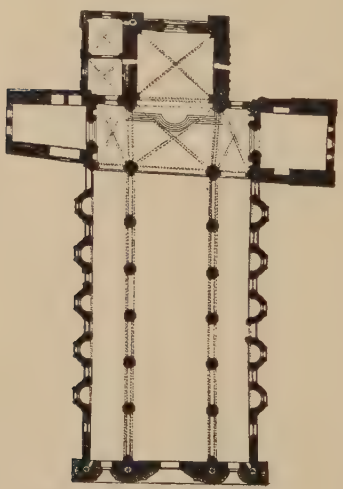

Fig. 358. Orvieto. Cathedral.

Again at Siena the rather insignificant, though beautiful, little

[1] A drawing of the façade by his own hand is preserved in the Opera del Duomo, adjacent to the cathedral.

arcade below the rose window is not carried beyond the central compartment. At Orvieto the arcade is made more important, and is continued across the whole front, greatly to the advantage of the design. These are but examples of the superiority of the design of Maitani over that of the more famous Giovanni da Pisa.

Fig. 359. Orvieto. Capital of Nave Pier.

But the most emphatic distinction between the two façades is in the character of the decoration which is so conspicuous a feature of both. At Siena this is entirely sculptural, and the sculpture is not confined to any portion of the work, but is as rich and abundant in the angle buttresses (or, at least, in that of the north angle) as in the great doorways or around the central window. At Orvieto the sculpture is much less abundant, being confined chiefly to the piers of the lower story and to the niches which enclose the great rose window, and in which the statues, single or in couples, are of remarkable beauty, as are also the heads in the square panels nearer the circle of the window, which here is filled with rich tracery. This whole compartment may be taken as one of the most brilliant examples of the lavish use of decorative sculpture by the Italian masters, and of the absolute contrast in their method with that of the Northern builders. The whole of the ornament is treated as surface ornament. The square frame of small quatrefoil panels which encloses the great circle — the panels themselves enclosing each a head nearly detached from its background, yet not projecting beyond the wall surface — is beautifully contrasted by the delicate borders of

geometrical mosaic, and by the mosaic figures of the four great bishops in the spandrils of the circle. On the sides of the window and above it are ranges of niches containing standing figures which are also, though in high relief, kept scrupulously within the wall surface. It would be hard to find a more perfect example of graceful and beautiful decoration ; and its charm is enhanced by its rigid confinement within the strong vertical buttresses which flank the compartment. It is interesting to note here the early and clear forecast of the Renaissance, which was now so near at hand, in the horizontal range of niches above the window, where the niches are arranged in couples between short Corinthian pilasters supporting a classical cornice, which is also carried up the rake of the central gable. (Fig. 361.)

The great piers of the lower story are decorated in a manner quite unexampled. The surface is covered with a spreading vine, under the branches of which are groups of figures in relief representing scenes from the Old and New Testaments. These sculptures are of a character which removes them at once from all the earlier schools of architectural sculpture. They are by Giovanni and Andrea Pisano and other less known pupils of the school of Nicola ; and though of unequal merit, they show in their modelling and grouping a full measure of the grace and naturalness of the approaching Renaissance. (Fig. 362.)

But if the front of Orvieto is less abundantly adorned with sculpture than that of Siena, the deficiency is more than compensated by the extraordinary display of mosaic which covers every flat surface above the great doorway piers, and decorates even the twisted columns and arch-mouldings of the doorways. The front blazes with gold and color ; but the effect, though one of exceeding brilliancy and magnificence, is, it must be confessed, far from satisfying. The ornament is excessive, and without relief. The larger surfaces of the gables and the wall at their sides in the lower story are covered by pictorial subjects beautifully composed, while the fillets and arch-mouldings and shafts, and the head of the little arcade above the first story are decorated by a delicate geometrical inlay much resembling the work of the Cosmati. The whole front has been practically rebuilt since 1870, and the mosaic is doubtless in great part new, but the execution is admirable.

Such development of Gothic architecture as took place in Venice during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had little relation to

the work we have thus far been considering. Venice had during her whole history been to a great extent independent of the rest of Italy, in her artistic as well as in her political relations, and this independence continued down to the fall of the Venetian power.[1] But the leaning to the forms of Eastern art which had characterized the architecture of Venice until the end of the twelfth century had now come to an end. In none of the churches of the Gothic period is there any marked trace of Oriental or Byzantine influence. And it must be added that the distinction, originality, and vigor which had under that influence so ennobled the architecture of Venice is not to be found in the work of the Gothic period. We shall see these qualities reappearing in a marked degree in the work

Venice.

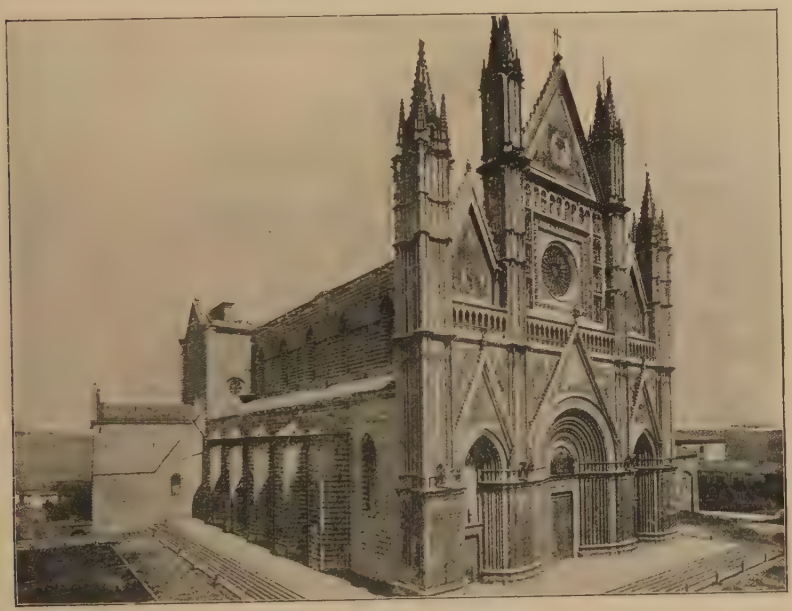

Fig. 360. Orvieto. Cathedral.

of the masters of the Renaissance; but the interval between the Byzantine and the Renaissance periods is, so far as church-building

[1] It will be remembered that at the beginning of the thirteenth century the question was seriously considered of abandoning Venice, even as Rome had been abandoned in the fourth, and establishing the seat of the Venetian government at Constantinople. The Doge Ziani himself is said to have proposed this step, which was only defeated in the council by a majority of one, the vote (known as the Voto della Providenza) standing 320 to 321. See Brown's *Venice, an Historical Sketch*, p. 134.

is concerned, an interval of languor and of commonplace. This change is perhaps owing in part to the change in the attitude of the Republic towards the outside world. Venice had been drawn, during the twelfth century, into the great current of European politics and European wars, to the absorption of her interest and her resources. At the end of the eleventh century, as I have remarked in a previous chapter, the church of St. Mark was still the object of the most zealous and constant care on the part alike of the government and the people. The Doge Selva, in 1080, required every ship which returned from Eastern waters to bring its store of materials for the decoration of the great basilica. Falier, his successor, procured from the Emperor the imposition of a tribute from all the merchants of Amalfi who traded in Constantinople, towards the same object. By the beginning of the twelfth century St. Mark's was in the main complete, and no subsequent edifice engaged in the same manner the attention and care of Venice. No important building was erected there during the twelfth century, the century which saw the introduction of Gothic architecture in the Italian monasteries, and a period of great activity in the North and South of Italy; and it was not until far into the thirteenth century that the two churches which are all which Venice has to show of importance as illustrations of Ecclesiastical Gothic, were begun.

Fig. 361. Orvieto. Rose Window in Façade.

The Franciscan church of the Frari, — or to give it its full-sounding vocable, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, — and the Dominican

church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, are so nearly similar and so nearly contemporary that they may be considered together. The Frari. Mothes gives the date of the foundation of the Frari as early as 1192; but this date applies more probably to the S. Giovanni e Paolo. foundation of the convent to which the church was attached, and it appears to be matter of record that the corner-stone was laid in 1250. SS. Giovanni e Paolo was begun some sixteen years earlier, but its construction was much interrupted, and the church was not completed before the fifteenth century. At the period when these churches were begun, Venice was rapidly rising to the height of her glory, and was in the full enjoyment of the power and prestige which followed her triumphant, though unscrupulous, conduct of the fourth crusade. But neither of them shows any striking evidence of the wealth or the pride of the growing state. Though of ample dimensions, — nearly three hundred feet in length by one hundred and fifty feet across the transept, — they are entirely of brick, with the exception of the interior piers, and with little attempt at ornament without or within. The nave bays are oblong in the Frari, square in SS. Giovanni e Paolo; the arcades are of plain pointed arches carried on columnar piers, with low foliated capitals. As in most of the Gothic churches of Italy, there is no proper clerestory, the vaulting arches of the nave springing from a point slightly below the crown of the nave arches. The vaulting is everywhere simple quadripartite vaulting, executed in brick, with strong and well-

Fig. 362. Orvieto. North Doorway of Façade.

marked ribs springing in the nave from clustered shafts rising from the capitals of the nave piers, and in the aisles from pilasters resting on corbels. The transept projects boldly beyond the aisle walls, and the choir ends in a polygonal apse flanked by apsidal chapels opening from the transept ends, numbering in the Frari three on each side, and in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, two. In the Frari the apses are all built with an angle on the axis. The chief effect of the interior in both churches is derived from the choir, with its great apse and its flanking chapels. The lofty windows in two stages are treated in a manner wholly characteristic of Venice, the height being divided in the middle by a transom with tracery, and the breadth by columnar mullions. The arch-head is also filled with tracery, which, with the tracery of the transoms, gives a peculiar richness to the composition.

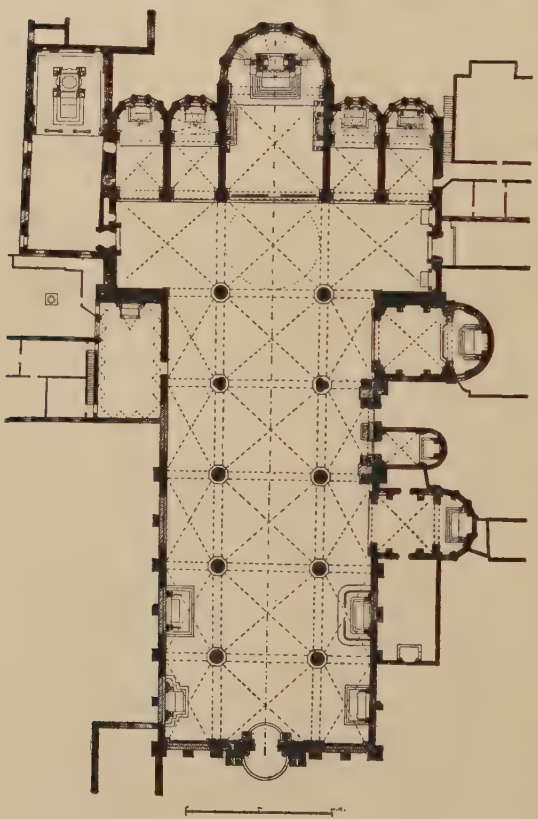

Fig. 363. Venice. SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

The treatment of the east end is all that gives any interest to the exterior of the church, the façade and flanks being without merit, and quite destitute of any Gothic character. But on the east end the two stages of tall windows filling the whole breadth of each face of the middle apse, which is itself of great height, the absence of buttresses at the angles, and the lower apses on either side, give to this portion of the church an effect not only of height, but of breadth and simplicity; and in the Frari a curious though not wholly admirable feature is added in the zigzag

line of the flanking chapels, in which the windows are divided by two transoms instead of one, as in the central apse. In SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the brick cornice which divides the two stages of the central apse is somewhat more elaborate than in the Frari, and above it a balustraded gallery runs in front of the upper windows.

Fig. 364. Venice. East End of the Frari.

The Frari has a characteristic campanile, a century later than the church, rising out of the north transept, with two stages of vertical panels on each face, with arched heads, pointed below and round above, and a low belfry with the customary group of three open round arches surmounted by an octagonal stage.[1]

There appears to be no authority except that of Vasari for attributing the design of these churches to Nicolo Pisano, and Vasari's authority is not so uniformly trustworthy as to make us disregard the entire absence of any of the distinguishing marks of Nicolo's genius.

I have said that beyond these two great churches there is little of important Gothic ecclesiastical work in Venice. There are, however, among the minor churches of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many single features of interest. S. Gregorio, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, has three polygonal apses with windows of the same character with those of the Frari. Attached to the same church is a singular and interesting

S. Gregorio.

[1] An inscription on the exterior wall of the tower records that it was begun in 1361 by Magister Jacobus Celega, and finished by his son Peter Paul in 1396. The tower of S. Stefano at Venice is almost a repetition of that of the Frari.

cloister in which the columns, which rest on a continuous stylobate of brick and marble, carry, not the customary arches, but an enriched framework of timber. The doorway by which this cloister is entered from the Grand Canal is a noticeable composition, — the door-opening itself being square, surmounted by a canopy covering the sitting figure of a bishop, and flanked on each side by an open ogee trefoiled arch.

S. Maria del Orto, of nearly the same date with S. Gregorio, has a Lombard façade with the usual division into three compartments, with the eaves gallery and arched corbel-table. But the eaves gallery is above the cornice, and is badly managed as to its general effect, though the detail of its arches, which enclose statues, is beautiful. In each of the side compartments of the front is a really fine window; a broad and high pointed arch with traceried head, divided at mid-height by a transom into two stages, each with four lights, with slender columnar mullions and cusped heads. The mullions are mullions only in appearance, the whole glazing and frame of the window being behind, and quite independent of the masonry.

S. M. del Orto.

S. Stefano, usually reckoned among the Gothic churches of Venice, — a three-aisled basilica without transepts, finished in 1325, with six bays, the nave having a wooden ceiling, the aisles divided into chapels each covered by a low dome, nave and aisles ending in polygonal apses, — has little in its general design or construction which can be called Gothic.[1] But it has in its façade a doorway of remarkable design which shows, perhaps at its best, the independent and luxurious temper of the Venetian artist. The square opening is enclosed by a richly carved and moulded architrave, and surmounted by a pointed arch with manifold richly foliated cusps, which is flanked by great pinnacles, and enclosed by decorated mouldings, and further by the extravagantly developed crockets which we see for the first time on the great arches of S. Mark's. The decoration of the arch forms an ogee curve at the summit, and is crowned by a finial in the form of a statue. (Fig. 365.) Several examples of very similar design are to be met with in other Venetian churches; the Corner chapel in the Frari has a doorway closely resembling that of San Stefano, with the further decoration of three

S. Stefano.

[1] San Stefano shows us an interesting instance of that picturesqueness which belongs to Venice, and which appears in a thousand unexpected forms. The size of the church carried its east end far beyond the shore of the island on which it is built, and the church is carried across a narrow canal by an arched bridge, and finished on the next island.

figures in relief on the tympanum of the arch. S. Michele has also a similar doorway, but with crockets much tamed down. But nothing at all resembling this remarkable composition can be found outside of Venice.

Closely akin to it, however, is the familiar type of Venetian memorial tomb, of which so many examples are to be seen not only at Venice, but also at Verona. For the most characteristic of these we must go back to the two great churches which have been described above. In the Frari, on the wall of the south transept, is the monument of Fra Pacifico Buon, who died about 1437, a brother of the Franciscan order, and believed by some authorities to have been the architect of the church; in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, that of the Doge Morosini. In the former of these monuments, the sarcophagus—of which the face has two square panels filled with delicate reliefs, and separated by a niche enclosing a standing figure of the Madonna, while similar niches at the angles enclose figures of Mercy and Faith — is covered by a noble pointed arch filled with a group of sculpture in relief representing the baptism of Christ. The moulded and decorated archivolt is enclosed within a broad band of sculpture consisting of a series of beautiful half-length figures, each within a sort of niche formed by intertwining foliage. Outside this, again, is a range of most luxuriant leafage, treated much like the crockets of S. Stefano, but continuous,

Venetian Tombs.

Fig. 365. Venice. Head of Doorway, S. Stefano.

in the midst of which were lovely half-length figures, most of which are destroyed. The finial which crowns the whole is a statue of the Madonna. The decoration of this tomb is all in terra-cotta, and while a cool criticism would doubtless condemn it as excessive and as unsuited to the character of a sepulchral monument, yet the grace and delicacy of the design are so captivating that the critical attitude is difficult to maintain. (Fig. 366.)

Fig. 366. Venice. Tomb of Fra Pacifico.

The Morosini tomb, of somewhat earlier date, is of a severer character, yet it is not without concessions to the luxury of ornament which characterized the Venetian artists of the time. (Fig. 367.) Here the figure of the Doge, full of pathetic dignity and repose, lies upon a simple draped couch, upon the face of which a series of seven foliated brackets perhaps supported originally a line of statues,[1] with emblematic figures at the head and feet. The pointed arch above encloses no sculpture, but a mosaic of the Crucifixion with the Doge kneeling before the cross, and is covered by a sharp gable, with crockets still more singular than those already noticed, consisting of a mass of leafage out of which grows a half-length figure. The finial, of extravagant size, is a winged figure of St.

[1] This is Mr. Ruskin's conclusion, but it seems by no means certain, since the statues, unless on a much smaller scale than any of the other statues which adorn the monument, a scale out of keeping with the brackets, would have quite concealed the figure of the Doge.

Michael trampling on a dragon. The face of the gable is decorated with mosaic, on which are set several panels enclosing half-length figures in relief. The arch is flanked by very rich octagonal pinnacles in three stages, of which the two lower have on each face a decorated niche enclosing a standing figure, while the uppermost is an open arched canopy with a statue.

In the tomb of the Doge Tomasso Mocenigo, in the same church, we note plainly the weakening of Gothic feeling, and the strong leaning towards the symmetry and stateliness of the Renaissance. Mocenigo died in 1423, but here, as in the Morosini tomb nearly half a century earlier, the central feature is the noble recumbent figure of the Doge, upon the sarcophagus. The sarcophagus is, however, treated much more conspicuously, its face being a series of decorated niches, each containing the standing figure of one of the Virtues, while the angles are marked by strong martial figures in Roman armor. Above the sarcophagus, the usual pointed arch is replaced for the first time by a high tent-like drapery, the sides of which are drawn aside by two angels, and relieved against a wall-screen composed of two ranges of arcades, the upper range forming a series of shallow niches like those of the sarcophagus and enclosing standing figures. The head of the tent is fashioned into an immense finial with foliage and climbing lions, which serves also as pedestal for a large statue.

Fig. 367. Venice. Tomb of Morosini.

The later tombs of the great Venetians depart farther and farther from the gravity and propriety which in the midst of the utmost richness of ornamentation were characteristic of those dating before the middle of the fifteenth century, passing through successive gradations of degeneracy, as in the tombs of Vendramin and Foscari, till they reach in the seventeenth century the astonishing ostentation and vulgarity of the monuments to the Doge Pesaro in the Frari, or the Falieri in SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

Verona, Santa Anastasia.

Verona is a near neighbor of Venice, but in the political relations of the two cities there was little sympathy or fellowship until Verona became, in 1404, subjected to the power of the Venetian republic; and the Venetian influence in the lesser city is much feebler than one might expect. Between the Gothic churches of the two cities there is little similarity except in general plan. The most interesting of those in Verona is Santa Anastasia, begun at the end of the thirteenth century, but so much interrupted in its construction that it was not completed till more than a century later. Its main features belong, however, to the first half of the fourteenth century, and the church may be considered as the contemporary of the great Venetian churches above described. In its interior disposition, it has more similarity to Santa Maria Novella at Florence than to any more Northern church. Here, as in Florence, the pointed nave arches, six in number on either side, rise to the level of the spring of the vaults, which are high and pointed, with flat pilasters with a quarter shaft on each side rising from the capitals of the nave piers, to take the spring respectively of the transverse nave arch and of the diagonal vaulting ribs. There is no clerestory; but a small foliated round window under the wall arch of the vault gives light to the nave, while a smaller oculus, just over the crown of the nave arch and opening into the aisle roof, serves only to remind the observer of that feature which the later Italians so little appreciated, the triforium. The nave piers, though built up in courses, are in the form of simple columns of red unpolished marble, about five feet in diameter, with low foliage capitals. The transept, which projects

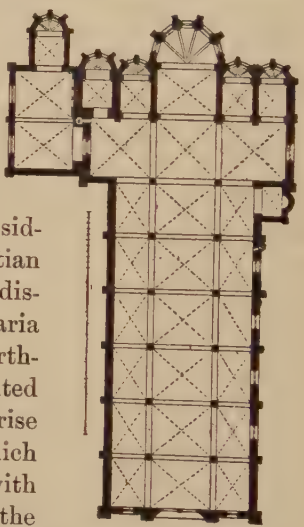

Fig. 368. Verona. S. Anastasia.

some fifteen feet, is in three square bays, vaulted like those of the nave, no superior prominence being given to the bay of the crossing, from which opens the single square bay of the choir, terminating in a polygonal apse. Two flanking chapels open from each transept arm, with small apses also polygonal, but having, as in the Frari at Venice, an angle in the central axis. All the apses have buttresses on the exterior angles. The eastern windows have no such prominence as those of the great Venetian churches, but are small and low, to the great injury of the general interior effect. They are, strange to say, the poorest windows in the church, the windows of the aisles being rather fine two-light openings, with cusped heads and a trefoil cut out of a solid plate or slab of stone fitting the head of the principal arch; while the windows of the transept ends are tall and broad, with three pointed lights and a large rose in the head of the arch.

The charming effect of this interior is due very largely to the painting of all the surfaces in rich and varied colors, the groundwork being white. The arches, which are of brick, are painted to imitate red and white voussoirs, the broad, flat soffits being decorated with a flowing pattern of foliage. The wall above the nave arcades has a double band of floral decoration. Painting of similar character covers the surfaces of the vaulting. The pavement is wholly composed of a simple but extremely effective inlay of pale red, white, and gray marbles in a variety of patterns. The whole interior thus presents throughout a remarkably rich and harmonious effect of color.

Fig. 369. Verona. Tomb of Castelbarco.

The exterior of Santa Anastasia has, with the exception of the west front, not less resemblance to Santa Maria Novella than the interior. The nave vaults are buttressed by ramping walls built up from the transverse arches of

the aisles, and rising some three feet above the aisle roofs, as in several other churches heretofore cited. But here a concession to the methods of Northern Gothic is seen in a series of pinnacles which crown the aisle buttresses at the foot of the buttress walls. The façade, as is so often the case in Italy, is unfinished, and the rough brickwork of the wall still waits for its marble facing. Only the doorway is complete, — a beautiful composition, with more of the true Gothic feeling than is often found in Italy. It is a broad pointed arch with five orders of delicate jamb-shafts and arch-mouldings, the capitals, refined and severe, resembling those often seen in the French Gothic churches of the twelfth century. The masonry is laid up in alternating courses of red, white, and gray marbles. The opening is divided by a graceful twisted column which supports a broad transom with figures in relief. The arch is enclosed by a delicate band of carving in relief.

Little as this church has of real Gothic character, there is no church in Verona which has more. The cathedral, a most interesting church, but a patchwork of various ages and styles, has been described in a previous chapter, its preponderating character having more relation to the Lombard style and period than to any other.

Verona, S. Fermo.

The great church of San Fermo Maggiore is usually reckoned among the Gothic churches of Verona, but for no better reason than the fine group of four lancet windows with cusped heads and simple label mouldings, which occupies the central portion of the façade over the great doorway, and the blind arcades on the façade and north flank, which have much the same character. The church, which dates probably from the latter part of the eleventh century, but was largely rebuilt about 1350, is a great Romanesque basilica without aisles, with a nave fifty feet broad, small transepts, and a choir with flanking chapels and terminating in a polygonal apse. Its most noteworthy feature is a noble crypt which was undoubtedly complete as early as the beginning of the ninth century, and which remains substantially unchanged. The crypt is of uncommon height, something over twenty feet, and is divided into three aisles by piers or pilasters of stone, much less massive and clumsy than is usual in such cases, which support groined vaults.

Tomb of Castelbarco.

As in Venice, so in Verona, the best Gothic is to be found in the memorial tombs, which, however, do not here, for the most part, as in Venice, adorn the interiors of the churches, but are set against their outer walls, or stand apart in cemeteries. The most typical of these, though one of the simplest, is

perhaps the tomb of Castelbarco, which surmounts the wall of the little cemetery adjoining the church of Santa Anastasia. A flat slab of marble, corbelled out from both sides of the wall, supports the monument, which consists of a canopy with four columns of white marble, carrying four pointed and slightly cusped arches with rather flat gables, the whole surmounted by a clumsy pyramidal spire. Under the canopy is the sarcophagus, which rests on couchant lions, and is ornamented with twisted angle-shafts and bas-reliefs on the face. The whole monument, which, with the exception of the columns, is of red marble, is remarkable for the severity of its forms, and its restraint in the matter of ornament, the principal decoration being a narrow band of delicate sculpture following the line of the arches. Similar tombs flank the main doorway of San Fermo.

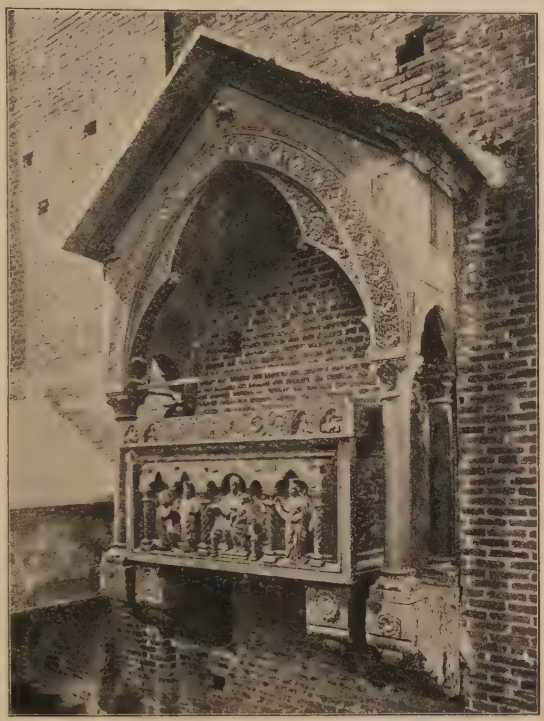

Fig. 370. Verona. Tomb of Dussaini.

The little cemetery over the gateway of which this monument rests, is bounded on one side by the small church of San Pietro Martire. On the wall of the church is a monument of the same class with that of Castelbarco, just noticed, and presumably of about the same age, the first half of the fourteenth century. This is the tomb of Dussaini, and though less admirable in its forms than that last mentioned, is still one of the best of its class. (Fig. 370.) The face of the sarcophagus, which rests on two corbels projecting from the wall of the church, is covered with beautiful figure sculpture under small arches, above which is an exquisite band of foliage in relief. Another pair of corbels, on either side of

Tomb of Dussaini.

the sarcophagus, support two strong columns which carry the pointed arched and gabled canopy similar in form to that of Castelbarco. The whole monument is much blackened by age.

Tombs of the Scaligers.

The remarkable group of family memorials known as the tombs of the Scaligers stand crowded together in a little cemetery in front of the small church of Santa Maria Antica. They cover in time the half century between 1330 and 1380, and are of various degrees of merit, from the simple canopied tomb of Can Grande I., — which is built above the doorway of the church, and resembles in its main features the tomb of Dussaini last described, except that it is crowned with a pyramidal truncated spire which carries the equestrian figure of the duke, — to the extravagant and pretentious structure which commemorates the infamous Can Signorio, and which, though abounding in beautiful detail, is a brilliant example of everything to be avoided in construction and composition.

In Tuscany, the region of the Central Romanesque, little disposition was manifested to adopt the Gothic style with any completeness. With few exceptions, the Gothic spirit is here shown only in details, and does not seriously affect either the interior disposition or the general design of the exterior. Thus in the smaller churches of Pisa, which were either built or completed during the second half of the thirteenth century, Santa Caterina, San Michele in Borgo (designed by Nicolo Pisano and his pupils), etc., the façades are simply repetitions on a small scale of the façade of the cathedral, with the one variation of cusped and pointed arches in the galleries in place of the round arches of the Romanesque. Of the upper portions of the baptistery and the fine traceries of the Campo Santo, much the same may be said, though the concession to the newer Gothic spirit was perhaps in these instances somewhat more liberal.

Pisa. La Spina.

The small and much overpraised church of the Spina, on the river bank, — of about the same date with the Campo Santo, and like that building attributed to Giovanni da Pisa, is generally cited as a Gothic building. But such a claim is not reasonable, though the sharper gables of the façade and the confused mass of crocketted pinnacles, niches, and canopies lend some color to it.

Pistoia, Baptistery.

A vastly more satisfactory example is the baptistery of Pistoia, which makes one of the interesting group of buildings of which the cathedral and the two public palaces are the other members. It was begun in 1337, perhaps from the designs of

Andrea Pisano, who did not, however, carry out the work. It is an octagon, like nearly all its class, forty-eight feet in diameter, with an octagonal apse projecting from one side, the opposite side being occupied by the round-arched entrance doorway, covered by a sharply pointed gable. In the upper stage, a delicate open gallery is carried quite around the building, composed of small pointed and cusped arches on slender columns, covered by gables. The angles of the octagon are marked by square buttresses crowned by decorated pinnacles above the cornice, where an inner wall, set somewhat back from the face of the building, has similar treatment at the angles. From the upper cornice rises a sharp octagonal roof crowned by a lantern. The walls are of marble, with thin courses of a dark gray stone at intervals. The little building has a simplicity, repose, and elegance which make it one of the most interesting examples of the Italian Gothic. (Fig. 371.)

Fig. 371. Pistoia. Baptistery.

Speaking generally, it may be said that in Tuscany, the same feeling for broad decorative forms and color effects which distinguished the Tuscan or Central Romanesque from the Romanesque of Lombardy — which made San Miniato or the cathedral of Pisa or the great churches of Lucca differ so widely from the contemporary churches of Pavia or Padua or Milan — survived through the Gothic period, and appears in most of the characteristic work of the time. Yet this feeling was not allowed to affect the interiors, which, even in the greatest examples, as Santa Croce and

the cathedral of Florence, remained as cold and bare as the severest of the Romanesque churches, and with much less of variety and interest than these. In Santa Croce, indeed, all decoration, whether interior or exterior, was put out of the question by the conditions of the problem which the architect had to solve, which was to produce the largest possible church at the smallest possible cost. The earlier church was a small building belonging to the Frati Minori, or Franciscans, who, being one of the great preaching orders, desired before the end of the thirteenth century a church in Florence in which a great congregation could be assembled. The new church was begun in 1295, its architect being that Arnolfo, known until recently on the authority of Vasari as "da Lapo," but now presumed to be the son, not of Lapo, but of Cambio.[1] Arnolfo was already the official architect of the commune of Florence, though the more important of the buildings which have made his name famous were still in the future. He had been, thirty years before, an assistant of Nicolo Pisano, on the pulpit of the cathedral of Siena.

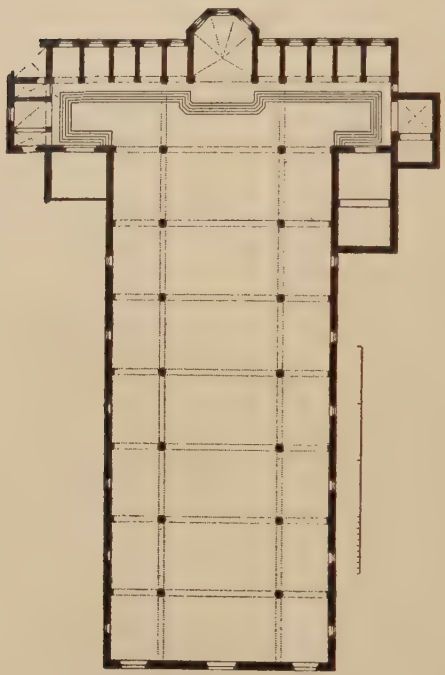

Fig. 372. Florence. S. Croce.

Florence, S. Croce.

Santa Croce must, whatever may be its deficiencies as an architectural monument, be allowed to have fulfilled the conditions of its existence. It is one of the largest churches in Europe, having an interior length of about three hundred and sixty-one feet, and a breadth across nave and aisles of about one hundred and twenty-three feet, of which sixty-seven feet is given to the nave.

[1] This is, however, all a matter of conjecture. Nothing appears to be known of any person named Cambio; and Mothes says Cambio is the name of a place, and Arnolfo may have taken his surname from the place of his birth or residence, though he is believed to have been born at a village called Colle, in the Val d'Elsa, in 1232.

The transept, which projects thirty-two feet on each side of the aisle walls, is otherwise comparatively insignificant, having only the breadth of a single one of the nave arches, about forty feet, the central portion being simply a continuation of the nave, and the transept ends serving chiefly as a vestibule for the five chapels which open from them on each side the polygonal choir.[1] With such dimensions and with a rigidly limited expenditure, it is not surprising that Arnolfo shrank from the task of vaulting the church. There is no vaulting except in the choir and its flanking chapels. The high pointed arches of the nave, springing from octagonal piers, support a lofty clerestory wall, pierced, as are also the aisle walls, with simple high, narrow, pointed windows. The nave is covered with a simple open timber roof quite without adornment. The aisles are roofed in a peculiar way, being divided into bays by transverse arches, and each bay being covered by a double pitched roof whose ridge is at right angles with the aisle. The exterior thus presents a succession of sharp gables, with roofs behind them serving as buttresses for the high clerestory. The exterior of Santa Croce is not more interesting than the interior, having

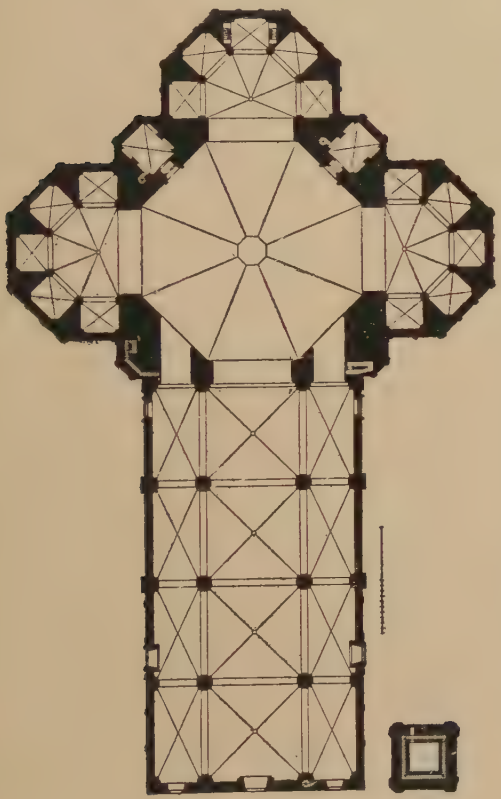

Fig. 373. Florence. Cathedral.

[1] Had the choir followed the usual Italian plan, and been made of the same width as the nave, the church would have had, in a vaulted polygonal apse, sixty feet broad, a feature which would have gone far to redeem the interior from the bareness and cheapness which now characterize it. But the width of the nave now includes not only the choir, but the first of the chapels on each side of it.

scarcely any architectural character. The façade was, as so often happened, left unfinished, and was only completed in the middle of the nineteenth century, through the liberality of an English gentleman, its design following a drawing by Cronaca found in the archives of the convent attached to the church. It is an uninteresting composition, with central and side gables, the surface laid off monotonously with vertical panels in white, red, and green marbles.

Florence Cathedral.

Up to the end of the thirteenth century Florence had no cathedral which bore any proportion to the greatness and importance of the city or to the pride of its people. The small church of Sta. Reparata was of extreme antiquity, its origin going back probably to the eighth century, and perhaps yet farther, though it had served as the cathedral only since the church of S. Giovanni was made the baptistery, some time in the twelfth century.

The work which the Commune undertook in 1294 seems to have been limited to a restoration and enlargement of Sta. Reparata, and this work was confided to Arnolfo, under whom it was begun in September of that year. Before the century ended it had come to be felt that a more splendid cathedral would better befit the swelling ambition of the people, and an entirely new church was determined on, the old cathedral being left standing while the new walls were built around it. Of the early history of the building little is known. Arnolfo died in 1310, and after his death little seems to have been done for twenty years or more, until in 1334 Giotto was made master of the works, when the building made rapid progress until his death, three years later. Then came another period of inaction. Florence was hard beset by many embarrassments and catastrophes; the plague in 1340, a war with Pisa, domestic dissensions within the city, the urgent need of more important works on the city walls and the bridges, delayed for many years the work of the cathedral. When it was resumed, somewhere about 1350 or later, the original plan of Arnolfo was thought to be too small, and as the progress hitherto had been mainly confined to the front and side walls,[1] it was possible to greatly enlarge the dimensions. The plan of Arnolfo comprised as its principal feature a great central octagon about one hundred and twenty-five feet in diameter, with octagonal apses opening from three sides, and nave and aisles from the fourth, — the whole having a total interior length of about three hundred and eighty feet. The nave was now lengthened by some seventy feet,

[1] It seems probable even that the foundations of the piers of the nave arcades had not been laid, and that the space within the outer walls was still occupied by houses.

Fig. 374. Florence. Interior of Cathedral.

and the diameter of the octagon increased to about one hundred and forty feet. The total interior length thus grew to about four hundred and eighty feet, and the breadth across the octagon to nearly three hundred feet. The lengthened nave had, however, the same number of arches as the smaller one, the span of the arches being increased from forty-five to sixty feet, — a characteristic mistake.

The conception of the church was a magnificent one, and in the hands of a Northern architect must have resulted in one of the most imposing and splendid interiors in the world. The great nave, two hundred and seventy feet long, formed an impressive approach to

the majestic octagon, the centre of the composition, which, with its three immense apses with square chapels opening from their sides in the thickness of the wall, presented a simplicity and yet a variety of form, combined with a largeness of scale, as yet quite without precedent. But never was a splendid conception more disastrously belittled in its fulfilment. The great length of the nave is divided into four bays only, each nearly sixty feet square. All the effect of continuity which is given by a long succession of columns and arches, as in the Gothic of Amiens or the Romanesque of Pisa, or in the basilicas of Rome, is thus entirely lost. The immense span of the arches belittles the piers on which they rest, and destroys the proportion between the height of the piers below and the nave vault above. The height of the nave, one hundred and thirty-five feet, is a little greater than that of Amiens; yet the Italian treatment of the nave annihilates everything between the nave arcade and the vaulting, whose spring is just above the crown of the great arches, and the only windows of the nave are four circular openings on each side in the wall-arches of the vault. Well might Mr. Ruskin exclaim that "the most studious ingenuity could not produce a design for the interior of a building which should more completely hide its extent, and throw away every common advantage of its magnitude, than this of the Duomo of Florence." As to the vast octagon with its three apses, it would seem to be impossible to do away with the imposing effect of such an arrangement. Yet even here the problem seems to have been quite beyond the ability of the architect to handle, and the whole treatment is inadequate and poverty-stricken. The features are grand, but there is an entire absence of proper correlation among the several parts. It seems uncertain whether Arnolfo got so far with his design as to determine in what way the great space of the octagon should be covered, but from all analogy it is probable that had he lived to complete his work, the result would have been an interior dome, masked by an exterior lantern in several stages, after the manner of the earlier Romanesque. But this was left to a greater than Arnolfo.

Of the exterior, a comparatively small portion belongs to the earlier period of the work. When the façade was begun, we have no means of knowing; but it appears to have been carried up by Arnolfo for a small portion of its height, and faced with marble much in the style of the flanks of the church. But this treatment Giotto found to be too simple, and he made a new and more splendid design, with projecting pointed arched porches, and with a

panelling enriched with statues and reliefs.[1] This façade had reached a height somewhat above the first stage, when the work was discontinued, and remained in this unfinished condition until near the end of the sixteenth century, when, according to some authorities, it was taken down by an ambitious architect of the Grand Duke; according to others, it fell, with grievous destruction of its beautiful sculpture, and the bare wall of rough brickwork remained until past the middle of the nineteenth century, when a richly ornamented but commonplace design by the Chevalier Fabbris was adopted in competition and carried out, the ceremony of unveiling taking place in 1887. The other exterior walls are treated in the Florentine manner, of which San Miniato, the baptistery, and Santa Croce are examples, — with the love of varied surface-color which is characteristic of Tuscany. The walls are faced with marble, laid off in a vertical panelling, minutely sub-divided, the high aisle walls having

Fig. 375. Florence. Cathedral.

six horizontal rows of panels, the borders being of dark green serpentine, enclosing narrow rectangles of white marble. The effect, in spite of its richness, is one of great monotony. (Fig. 375.) The openings are few, but are decorated with much profusion of carving.

[1] Schnaase, vii., p. 180.

The windows and doors are deeply splayed, with delicate twisted columns and gabled arches. But the treatment is far from satisfactory; the high gables of the doorways, in particular, are extremely awkward, and their lines are confused by the parti-colored panelling of the wall. These windows and doors are emphatic illustrations of the Florentine genius for exquisite detail, combined with incompetency in composition. The aisle walls finish with a beautiful arched corbel-table, and a panelled balustrade above. The clerestory is perhaps the weakest feature of the exterior, — the only relief to the monotonous panelling being the small round windows.

Into whose hands fell the direction of the great work during the latter half of the fourteenth century, it is impossible to determine. Taddeo Gaddi, Francesco Talenti, Andrea Orcagna have all been credited with some contribution to the progress of the cathedral. By the end of the century the nave vaulting appears to have been complete, and that of the three apses or tribunes followed closely. Early in the fifteenth century, the builders found themselves called upon to face the great problem of the covering of the central octagon, before which we may well believe that the successive architects of the cathedral had shrunk, and which was to find its triumphant solution at the hands of the first great architect of the Renaissance.

It should be said, concerning the architecture of this church, that the majestic scheme of Arnolfo, however it failed of its interior effect, was vastly more successful on the exterior of the octagon. Here the great mass of the central dome is supported and buttressed by the three apsidal tribunes, and these again by boldly projecting, long-sloping angle buttresses, and the treatment is at once vigorous and harmonious, perhaps beyond that of any other church in Italy.

Giotto's Campanile.

The short service of less than three years on the cathedral, which was all that was permitted to Giotto, was yet sufficient to allow him to begin the building of what is probably the most famous and the most justly famous bell-tower in existence, which replaced the old tower of the cathedral of Sta. Reparata, destroyed by fire in 1333. The campanile of Giotto, as it is most often called, was perhaps not wholly the work of Giotto, at whose death it had reached but a small portion of its height. It then fell into the hands of Taddeo Gaddi, his godson, and for twenty-five years his pupil and disciple. Gaddi was in his turn succeeded by Francesco Talenti, under whom the tower appears to have been finished, and who is said to have modified and enriched the original

design of Giotto. But the work will be forever inseparably connected with the great name of its original architect.

Its design seems to combine every merit which can be required in such a work, and its decorative treatment was hitherto quite unexampled. The old Lombard tower, which in its original form in the Northern churches, or its modified form as seen in the Roman basilicas, had furnished the almost invariable type for the church campanile, was quite disregarded, and the treatment of the walls of the church was continued, but with increased beauty and delicacy both of material and detail, in the walls of the tower. The composition is masterly throughout. The tower covers a square of about forty-five feet, and rises to a height of about two hundred and seventy-five feet. For rather more than a third of this height it has no openings except the doorway on the east side, which is inconspicuous. The base is in two stages, with a slight set-off at the top of each stage, above which there is no diminution. The remaining height is in three stages, of which the two lower are of equal height and precisely similar design, with two beautiful two-light windows in each face, of the utmost grace and delicacy of proportion and ornament, with traceried balconies and gabled arches; while the third or final stage, that of the belfry, is of much superior height, with a broad three-light opening in each face, similar in design and decoration to the smaller openings below. The tower finishes with a strongly projecting arched corbel-table. The angles

Fig. 376. Florence. First Door, South Flank.

of the tower are reinforced by octagonal buttresses rising from ground to summit, and all the strings and cornices are carried round them. The face of the wall is everywhere crossed by a panelling of white and green marbles similar to that of the cathedral, but of greater variety and richness, with a liberal, but not profuse addition of floral sculpture in the friezes, and many bands of marble inlay, much resembling the work of the Cosmati. The lower range of panelling in each stage of the base is enriched with admirable figure-sculpture, that of the lower stage being contained in a series of hexagonal panels, and representing the arts and labors of primitive Eastern life. The design of these sculptures is believed to have been by Giotto; the execution partly his, with much assistance from Andrea Pisano, Luca della Robbia, and other masters. The upper range is a series of standing figures in small pointed arched niches, by Donatello and other masters of that great time. The union of strength and delicacy, of simplicity of design with richness of ornament has perhaps never been carried to greater perfection than in this admirable tower. (See Fig. 375.)

Bologna. S. Petronio.

In 1390 the building of Gothic churches in Italy was pretty nearly at an end. The field was shortly to be invaded by the Renaissance movement. Already at the end of the century this movement was beginning to be felt in Florence. But it had not yet reached Bologna. The great university city, long the chosen home of learning, had never been stimulated by commercial prosperity and ambition to the adoption of new methods of thought and action. But just at the moment when the people of Florence were entering on the great problem of the dome of their cathedral, the people of Bologna had brought themselves to the resolution to eclipse all other cities by a church whose magnitude and splendor should put it beyond rivalry. The carrying out of this great work they were wisely content to confide to the hands of a native architect, Antonio, son of Vincenzo, a citizen of mark and standing in the community.[1] Antonio proceeded to enter on this important work with deliberation, agreeing in the first place to build of stone and plaster a correct model of the church, after his design already determined on, at a scale of one twelfth full size, "showing all doorways, porches, windows, vaults, chapels, towers, and other features" of the proposed structure. The model was built as agreed, and the work

[1] Perhaps in company with Frate Manfredi, who had begun twenty years earlier the Annunziata at Florence, and later the Gothic church of the Serviti at Bologna, which he did not live to finish.

on the church was begun promptly in September, 1390, and carried forward with so much energy that in October, 1392, a mass is said to have been celebrated in one of the chapels of the nave. In clearing ground for the foundations, no less than eight churches were destroyed, besides a great number of houses. Although the corner-stone was laid under one of the piers of the central octagon, yet the serious work of construction was begun with the foundations of the west front. The work on the nave and aisles appears to have gone forward with lessening energy; but this portion of the work was nearly finished by 1430, when the attention of the builders was turned towards the completion of the plan. This was, however, never seriously undertaken, and about 1440 the work was abandoned. The façade, which had been begun before the end of the century, was carried up some thirty feet, and never finished.

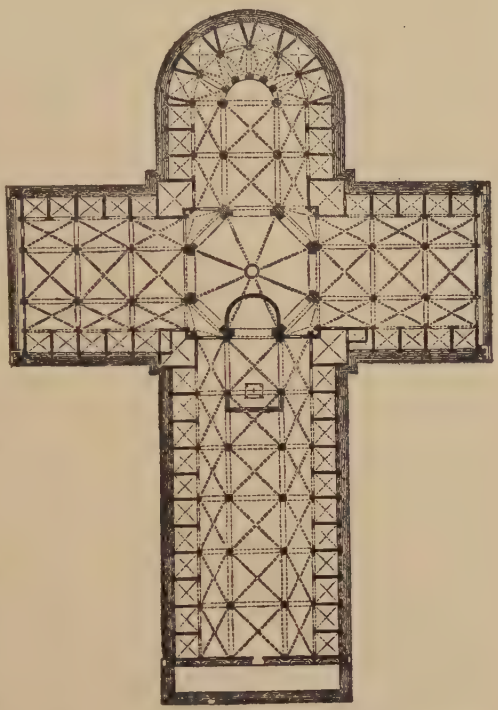

Fig. 377. Bologna. Original Plan of S. Petronio.

The plan of the entire church was of enormous extent, and the scale of parts was nearly the same as in the Florence cathedral. But the conception was wholly different from that of Arnolfo, and was in the main a return to earlier models. The outline was to be more like that of Pisa in the great development of transepts and choir, but the development was even fuller than at Pisa, the aisles and chapels being carried quite around the end of the choir. The plan (Fig. 377) is that of a five-aisled church; but the outer aisles are divided into chapels, two to each bay of the inner aisle, from which they open by broad pointed arches. Precisely the same arrangement was to prevail in the transepts. The choir was to have

two square bays and a semicircular apse; the aisles and chapels of the nave and transepts being continued, as I have said, quite around the east end. The church would thus, if completed, have been in its plan more like a northern cathedral than any church in Italy up to that date. The central feature would probably have been in its way as great a wonder as that of the Florence cathedral. The great octagon, one hundred and thirty feet in diameter, and including the breadth of nave and inner aisles, was to be covered by an octagonal dome with a high drum and lantern, rising to the height of nearly four hundred feet, and supported, not by massive piers as at Florence, but by eight piers but little larger than those of the nave. Doubtless the structure, had it been carried forward, would have required some modification of the original design as shown by the model; but the bold departure from the massiveness of the Florentine design is noteworthy.

But the architect had learned nothing from the mistakes of Florence, and in his treatment of nave and aisles was indeed glad to copy them. Here, as in Florence, the enormous nave, three hundred and seventy-seven feet long and sixty feet wide, is divided into square bays; but the bays are six in number instead of four as at Florence. Here again the immense arches of the nave, though springing from piers of comparatively little height, rise so high as to leave no space for anything above them but the vault, — triforium and clerestory being entirely sacrificed. The piers with their capitals are much like those of Florence, but the leafage of the capitals is even more despicable. Yet these capitals, and those of the vaulting shafts which rise from them, are the only decorative feature in all the vast interior, whose baldness is thus, if possible, greater even than that of Florence.

With this poverty-stricken interior the design of the exterior is in striking contrast. What the great façade, begun very shortly after the commencement of the works, would have been had it been completed, is a matter of interesting conjecture, since the decorative facing was only carried up as high as the string course over the great doorways. But the work so far shows the Italian Gothic at its best. (Fig. 378.) The three doorways are thoroughly well composed, with round arches covered by gables, and flanked by pinnacles, the arch-heads filled with good sculpture, the lintels below covered with reliefs. The base of the building is admirable, being treated as a continuous pedestal, with spreading base, die, and cornice; the die ornamented with a series of quatrefoil panels containing half-

length figures of bishops in relief. This decoration, like all the sculpture of the façade, was the work of Jacopo della Quercia, and it would be difficult to name an instance of more beautiful and effective association of sculpture with decorative architectural forms. The wall-surface at the side of the doorways is laid off in vertical panels enclosed by borders of dark marble, and in each panel is a canopied niche for a statue. The statues, if they ever existed, have disappeared. But the tympanums of the doorway arches bear groups of figures in high relief; the lintels and the faces of the flanking pinnacles are divided into square panels, each with its delicate group of figures; and in all this decoration the treatment is restrained, and entirely subordinated to the forms of the architecture. (Fig. 379.)

The flanks of the outer aisles are interesting and vigorous beyond what is common in Italian churches. The wall is divided by strong square buttresses into bays, each bay covered by a gable, and its full breadth occupied by a broad and high pointed window, with five lights separated by slender twisted columns, — the head of the enclosing arch filled with rich and elaborate tracery. (Fig. 380.) No other Italian church has such windows until Milan cathedral. But in the upper part of the flank there is again the same poverty and feebleness of treatment which we have seen so often in the Gothic churches, in Florence, in Verona, in Venice, and elsewhere.

Fig. 378. Bologna. Façade of S. Petronio.

In the sacristy of S. Petronio is preserved a contemporary model in wood [1] of the complete design. This shows the transept ends flanked by tall angle towers, and terminating in triple gables, and a polygonal dome over the crossing, each face of which is covered by a sharp crocketted gable. It is perhaps too much to assume that the carrying out of this great project would have met with a success commensurate with its daring magnitude, since the Italian genius seems to have shown itself, with one or two brilliant exceptions, incapable of producing a really great example of complete and logical composition in the line of church architecture. Yet the work which was done on the façade and aisles of S. Petronio did at least promise a nearer approach to such a result than had been reached in Italy since the cathedral of Pisa. But this work was suspended, as I have said, very early in the fifteenth century, and was never resumed. The impulse which inspired the great conception was soon spent. But although little more was accomplished, it was only a century later that the idea of completing it was definitively abandoned. In 1647 the building was finished by the addition of a semicircular apse of somewhat mean aspect to the great nave. In the mean time attempts had been made to com-

Fig. 379. Bologna. Sculpture of Doorway, S. Petronio.

[1] Not the original model, built by della Quercia and mentioned above, which was destroyed, as was also a second made by him of wood and paper. The model now existing was made in 1514 or thereabouts.

plete at least the façade, which had retained, above the marbles of della Quercia, the rough wall of coarse brickwork which closed the nave. Somewhere about 1535, when the Renaissance had quite established its supremacy, a competition was arranged in which Palladio, Vignola, Baldassare Peruzzi, Giulio Romano, and other great architects of the Renaissance took part. Their designs are still preserved in the sacristy of the church[1] to the number of thirty or more. The contemporary accounts of the lively interest of the citizens of Bologna in the project afford but another illustration, not only of the love of art, which is native to the Italian character, but of the habit of the people, at least in the more northern communities, to participate in, and to a certain extent, to control, the conduct of the great enterprises which gave celebrity and distinction to their city. An architect of Bologna, Ariguzzi, writing somewhat earlier, complains thus: "People of all sorts, priests, monks, mechanics, schoolmasters, porters, and even water-carriers set themselves up as learned in architecture, and declare their opinions. Unfortunately they don't come forward with drawings or models, as I am anxiously expecting."[2]

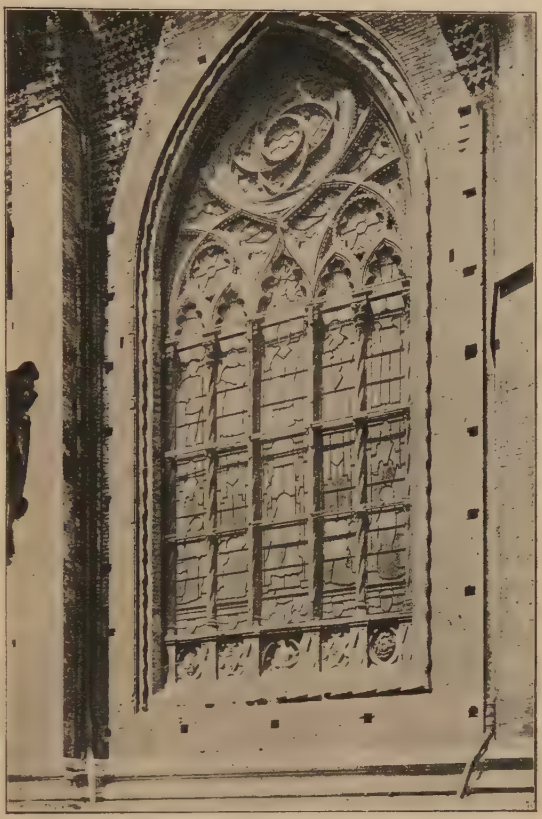

Fig. 380. S. Petronio. Window of Aisle.

[1] Among them are two Gothic designs by B. Peruzzi and Giulio Romano. One scheme proposed by Francesco Terribilia contemplated preserving the portion of the façade as far as it had gone, and finishing it with a thoroughly Renaissance treatment.

[2] Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii., 140, quoted by Burckhardt, *Ren. in Italien*, p. 31.

Milan Cathedral.

The beginning of the cathedral of Milan was almost exactly contemporary with that of San Petronio. But the conditions under which the two churches were conceived were as different as their design. Bologna, at the close of the fourteenth century, though she had been for a hundred years under the tyranny of one after another of the powerful families who shared between them the practical sovereignty of the Italian cities, had preserved, together with her republican forms, what was the best characteristic of the Italian republics — the civic pride and spirit of her people. With her as with Siena a century and a half before, the conception of a great church which should surpass in extent and magnificence the cathedrals of the rival cities was a popular conception, and was realized by the energy and enlightened ambition of the people, who followed the progress of the work with eager and intelligent interest. In Milan the conditions were wholly different. The city was at this period under the heavy hand of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, one of the worst of the bad brood of savage tyrants from whom the cities of Italy had so much to suffer, and by whom they were so splendidly embellished. The duchy of Milan was at this time the richest and most important state in Italy, with a revenue equal to that of France and England combined, and the insatiable ambition of its successive dukes had made it a terror to every republic of the peninsula. No city in Italy then was more capable of bearing lightly the cost of a great church than Milan. Yet when it was determined to replace the ancient cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore by a structure commensurate with the wealth and dignity of the duchy, there was much delay and difficulty in providing the means for its erection. Among the few virtues of the duke, liberality of expenditure was not one; he was renowned for his cupidity and parsimony.[1] The money was, however, in one way or another forthcoming, and the work on the cathedral, begun in 1386, went forward with considerable steadiness. Its plan and design seem to have been the result of repeated conferences between the Lombard engineers of Gian Galeazzo and the various foreign architects who were successively summoned to Milan for the purpose. For the duke, unlike the projectors of the other

[1] "Gian Galeazzo gave nothing towards the building; his successors gave little more; his duchess gave three rings. The prince commanded; the people built. Parishes and individuals were held to yearly contributions. If any man refused, he was thrown into prison. In 1396 the contribution of the Commune of Milan destined for the cathedral was seized by the duke, and turned into his own treasury. Even the quarry of Monte Candido, which furnished the marble for the work, had to be bought of the Visconti." Mothes, p. 502.

great churches of Italy, had turned his back on the native architects. The early history of the work is a record of successive appointments and dismissals. Heinrich von Gmunden and Nicholas Bonaventure, of Paris, appear to have been the earliest names.[1] Jealousy and quarrels prevailed not unnaturally, as one German architect after another arrived in Milan to supersede and be superseded in his turn. More than fifty architects are named between 1386 and 1402.[2]

The result of all this unsteadiness was a compromise between the Northern and Southern methods of building, in which, however, the Northern influence showed a decided preponderance. The plan (Fig. 381) is that of a five-aisled cruciform church of magnificent dimensions, the total length being about four hundred and ninety feet, the length of the transept two hundred and fifty. The nave is fifty feet broad between the piers, the aisles twenty-five feet, the outer and inner aisles being of equal width. The common Italian disposition of nave and aisles is abandoned. Instead of the square nave bay with enormous nave arches, few in number, we find here the Northern arrangement, the long succession of high but comparatively narrow arches, nine in number in each arcade of the nave,[3] which is thus divided into oblong bays, those of the aisles being square. The transepts have a single aisle on either side of the central space; and the choir is formed by two oblong bays like those of the nave, with an octagonal apse around which the inner aisle of the nave is continued. With such dimensions this plan is unfortunate, since the outer faces of the surrounding aisle become of great breadth, and the three terminal vaults of the aisle of awkward size and form. A compensation is, however, obtained in the three magnificent windows of the aisle, twenty-eight feet wide and sixty feet high, which, fully visible through the whole length of the church, form perhaps its most imposing feature.

[1] This is, however, as usual, a matter of controversy, — Mr. Perkins maintaining (*Italian Sculptors*, p. 116, note) that the first design was the work of an Italian architect, Marco da Campione, who died 1390.

[2] This dependence on foreign architects seems to have prevailed, not only in the earlier years of the work, but pretty nearly through its whole history. Gian Galeazzo died of the plague in 1402, but he left behind him two sons who might have exclaimed in the words of Shylock, "The villany you teach me, I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction." For some years there seems to have been, under their patronage, a partial return to native architects. But the change was only temporary, as we shall see later.

Before the death of Gian Galeazzo, a Campo Santo was commenced, but never was finished, and no traces of it now exist.

[3] The ninth bay is embraced in the breadth of the western aisle of the transept, and belongs practically as much to the transept as to the nave.

The piers of the nave are composed of eight engaged shafts attached to a circular core, with a low continuous capital of rather conventional leafage, above which is a range of high canopied and gabled niches, surrounding the pier and enclosing statues. The detail is inferior; but at a height of sixty or seventy feet, and in the dim light of the upper nave, this defect is hardly perceived, and the effect of the long line of capitals nearly twenty feet high is that of a great enriched band carried through the whole length of the church. The nave arches spring from a cornice moulding immediately over these niches, and a thin cluster of vaulting-shafts rises from this cornice to take the spring of the nave vault, which is a high pointed arch very highly domed, rising to the height of one hundred and forty-five feet above the pavement, with strongly marked ribs. (Fig. 382.)

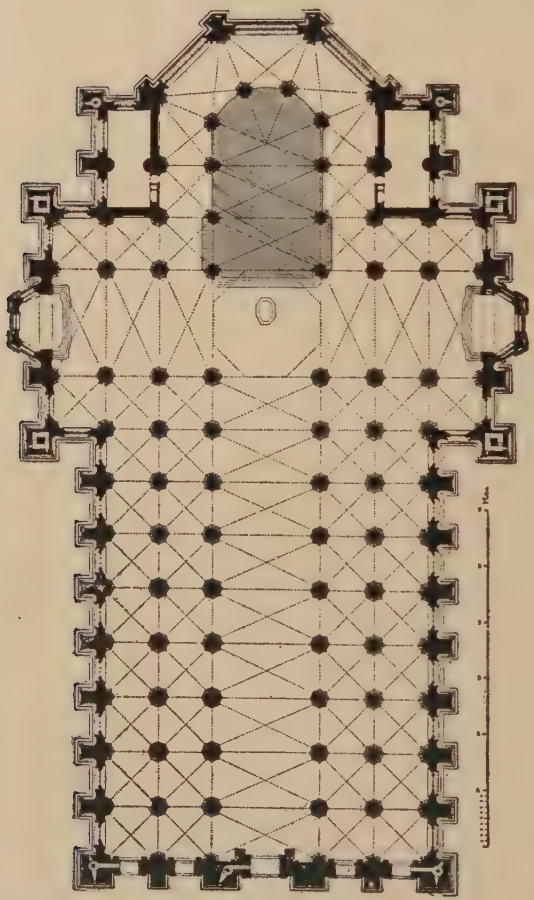

Fig. 381. Milan. Cathedral.

But though the effect of this vast interior — of the nave especially — is an immense advance upon the typical Gothic interior of Italy, as Florence cathedral or Santa Maria Novella or San Petronio, it is yet far inferior to what it might have become had the Northern methods been more fully adopted. For here, as in the churches just mentioned, the aisles and the nave arches

Fig. 382. Milan. Interior of Cathedral.

are of such height as to prevent the possibility of a triforium, and as to allow of no clerestory worth speaking of. A small, stumpy, pointed window over each nave arch is all that reminds one of the great clerestories of France or England or Germany.

Yet criticise as we may this interior, there are few churches in existence of which the effect is so imposing. The great spaces are entirely unobstructed. From east to west, from north to south, the eye ranges freely through the noble perspectives, and even the manifest defects of the design — the excessive proportionate height of the

aisles and the absence of clerestories — contribute in a way to the general splendor and impressiveness; the former by the superior airiness and freedom of those portions of the interior, the latter by the dimness and mystery which possess the great vaults of the nave and choir, and contrast with the brilliant colors of the windows below.

The choir and transept were finished before the middle of the fifteenth century. In 1452 work was begun on the nave and aisles. A project for dividing the outer aisles into chapels was defeated. The great central lantern was not undertaken until 1481. It was then feared that the piers which were to sustain it might prove insufficient, and recourse was again had to Germany. The duke himself wrote a moving letter to the magistrates of Strasburg, declaring that "the works of our most noble temple remain suspended and cannot be proceeded with unless our masters are able to consult with the best engineers as to whether the great columns on which the tiburio is to rest are strong and sufficient to bear up the incredible weight of this stupendous work. And a great scandal would arise if any failure should occur. Wherefore, having learned from various sources of the sufficiency of the engineer of the famous temple of your city, we pray you to send him, or some other equally competent person of your country to us. Our citizen Giovanni Antonio di Gesa, who bears you this greeting, will give him good company on his way, and here he shall be well received and better entertained, and we will see that he returns well content."

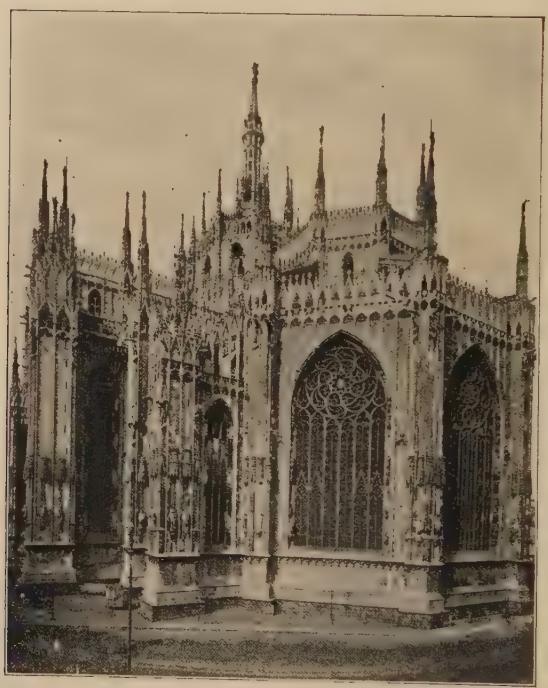

Fig. 383. Milan. East End of Cathedral.

This letter is signed Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza Visconti, and dated 27 June, 1481. Whether it was efficacious in bringing the desired assistance is not certain. But in 1483 appeared, first a certain Alexander von Marpach, whose designs do not seem to have

Fig. 384. Milan. Cathedral.

been met with favor, and a little later Johann von Gratz, who was not more successful. In 1487 Luca Fanciulli was brought from Mantua to examine the structure. A letter of his to Lorenzo di Medici is preserved, in which he says he is staying in Milan on account of the tiburio, which is ruinous and may have to be rebuilt. "And since this building is without bones and without proportion, so it will not be without difficulty that we shall manage to satisfy ourselves." It was not until 1490 that Francesco di Giorgio, of Siena, with Amadeo and Dolcebuono, of Milan, were finally appointed "to carry on the works necessary to construct the said tiburio and to make it beautiful, honorable, and eternal; if ever the things of this world can be made eternal." [1]

The lantern covers and encloses an octagonal dome, carried on four piers exactly similar to those of the nave and but little larger. It has, unlike the same feature in most of the great Gothic churches

[1] Boito, *op. cit.*

of Italy, only the breadth of the nave, but its crown is more than two hundred feet above the pavement. The octagonal drum within which this dome is contained is covered by a flat roof, from the centre of which rises a slender spire to the height of one hundred and thirty feet, crowned by a statue of the Virgin, — the total height above the ground being thus about three hundred and fifty feet.[1] The base of the spire is joined to the octagonal drum by broad spreading buttresses; and the external effect, notwithstanding the extreme, and indeed excessive, ornament, is most unsatisfactory.

Concerning the exterior of this great church, little need be said. It is a mournful example of the absolute lack of appreciation and understanding, on the part of the Italian architects, of the principles of Gothic design. There is scarcely any attempt at composition. The heavy mass of shining marble challenges attention by the splendor of the material and by the profusion of its sculptured ornament. But these are insufficient to compensate for the absence of form which results necessarily from the disposition of the parts of the design. The west front, with its continuous gable line, is as primitive in its conception as that of San Michele at Pavia, and its flatness is relieved only by the buttresses which mark the inner divisions of the church. Of the flanks, only the high wall of the outer aisle is effectively visible, — the two clerestories being insignificant, and on a near view scarcely seen at

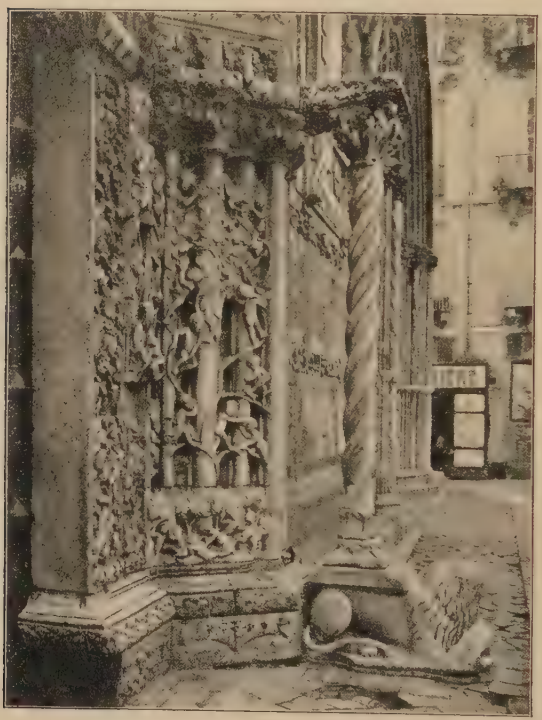

Fig. 385. Messina. Detail of Doorway.

[1] The spire was not built until 1750.

all. The transepts are spoiled by the small and awkward apse, which blocks up what would otherwise be a fine central window, and by the flattening of the gable in the middle division; while the lantern at the crossing, which was meant to be the great feature, governing and ennobling the whole composition, is so ugly as to neutralize completely the effect which belongs to its position and to its commanding height.

Fig. 386. Messina. Central Doorway of Cathedral.

The east end is the best part of the exterior. Here the great octagonal apse, with its three magnificent windows, presents the only instance in the whole building of a noble breadth of effect, which is not quite effaced by the frittered decoration. The decoration, indeed, which was to be presumably the pride and glory of the church, has proved its bane. It is perhaps the most striking example in existence of extravagant and misapplied ornament. It is not only the two thousand statues of which the guide-books give us the count, nor the "vegetable garden" on the roofs which is pointed out for the admiration of the tourist, — but everywhere the surfaces and terminations are tormented with a confused and crowded mass of weak vertical panelling, and small

sharp gables with crockets and finials and pinnacles, till the eye wearies of the "wasteful and ridiculous excess." All is divided and subdivided and frittered, — nowhere is any repose, nowhere any dignity or simplicity.

The west front, which, as in so many Italian churches, remained long unfinished, is chiefly the design of two Italian architects, — Pellegrino Tibaldi and Carlo Buzzi, working through the second half of the sixteenth century. But the work was interrupted before its completion, and was finished early in the present century by the help of Napoleon.[1]

The mixture of Renaissance detail in this front had long been distasteful to the Milanese; and a project for a new façade was set on foot in 1883, which was strongly aided by a bequest of eight hundred thousand lire from Sig. Togni, a citizen of Milan. A general competition was established, which resulted in the reception of more than four hundred designs from one hundred and twenty competitors, — Italian, German, French, Flemish, and English. An international jury was appointed, among whom we find the names of Dartein of France and Waterhouse of England, to judge the designs and to award a prize of fourteen thousand lire to the best design, and to divide a like amount among the fourteen which stood next in merit. The first prize was taken by Giuseppe Brentano, a young architect of Milan, who died in 1889, at the age of twenty-seven, before the work was commenced, and the old façade still remains untouched at the close of the century.

Later Gothic churches.

The cathedral of Milan was the last of the great monuments of the Gothic style in Italy. Yet the style was not extinguished. Churches of considerable importance continued to be built all over Italy, partaking in a greater or less degree of the Gothic character, though in most of them it is easy to mark the influence of the new movement which had already gained a firm footing in many of the Italian cities; just as in many of the early buildings of the Renaissance the memory lingers of the Gothic style which it was steadily supplanting. For the change in manner was a gradual one, and the fifteenth century was drawing near its end before the Renaissance style had fully emerged from its experimental stage, and had purged itself from the lingering traces of the earlier and freer schools. The church of the Certosa monastery near Pavia, founded by Gian Galeazzo Visconti shortly after the cathedral

[1] Who appropriated the sum of five millions of lire, of which, however, only two millions were paid. Mothes, p. 509.

of Milan, and renowned for the extraordinary exuberance of its exterior ornament, has an interior which has been said to be more Gothic than that of the great contemporary church, although the pointed arch is here the exception, and the general arrangement partakes largely of the Lombard character. In Milan, under the immediate inspiration of the growing cathedral, several churches were built during the fifteenth century in the Gothic style, — S. Maria del Carmine in 1446, S. Maria Incoronata about 1460, and the more widely known church of S. Maria delle Grazie in 1464, which, remaining unfinished at or near the end of the century, was completed by Bramante in the style of the early Renaissance. In Padua, Verona, Vicenza, and other cities of the North are to be found other examples of late Gothic churches. In Como the old cathedral of 1396 was undergoing enlargement and alterations all through the fifteenth century. In its façade, which was faced with marble towards the end of the century, the old forms were retained for the most part, but much enrichment was added, and this was all of a pronounced Gothic character. A row of five niches over the central doorway containing statues is decorated with crocketted gables and high pinnacles crowned with small standing figures of much delicacy and beauty. The windows of the side compartments are high two-light openings divided by a very slender shaft, while those

Fig. 387. Messina. Window in Cathedral.

of the middle division, flanking the row of niches just mentioned, are enriched by deep hollow jambs with small statues on corbels.

But nowhere in the north — nowhere, indeed, in Italy — can there be found a purer or more beautiful instance of the late use of Gothic forms than in the central doorway of the cathedral of Messina. (Figs. 385, 386.) The church itself — an ancient basilica some three hundred feet long, rebuilt towards the end of the eleventh century by Count Roger, and subsequently much altered — is not particularly interesting, but the doorway, which dates from about 1330, is one of the richest and most beautiful in Italy. The fine pointed arch is enclosed within a broad, flat band of delicate reliefs, the face of the lintel being enriched in the same manner. Outside of this is a series of decorated shafts and arch-mouldings, flanked by a twisted column resting, after the manner of the Southern Romanesque, upon grotesque beasts, and rising to half the height of the door opening, where it carries a vertical range of statues under canopies, the upper portion of which becomes a pinnacle flanking the gable of the arch. The gable itself is perhaps the most beautiful portion of the composition. Its centre is filled by a great roundel, with a relief representing the Coronation of the Virgin, the triangular spaces above and below being covered also with figures. The crockets, which cover the gable mouldings with a continuous line of flowing leafage, have the character of "the wild crockets of St. Mark's," but without their extravagance, and out of the leafage of the finial rises the venerable figure of a bishop with his hand raised in blessing. The sculpture of this beautiful doorway is everywhere of the most delicate and refined character, and recalls that of the best age of Florentine art.[1] A similar elegance and freedom, with perhaps something less of refinement, is shown in many other details of the church, notably in the two-light windows on the flank with richly moulded jambs and arch-heads, the latter filled with flowing tracery. (Fig. 387.)

This church has another feature of unusual interest in a half-finished octagonal bell-tower, purely Gothic in character, on the north side of the choir. A curious instance of the occasional use of Gothic forms in the architecture of Sicily after the fall of the Roman kingdom is seen in the ruined tower of the old cathedral of Girgenti, dating from the fifteenth century, where the base of the tower has a range of four pointed ogee arches with several orders of jamb-shafts, treated with great richness and delicacy. (Fig. 388.)

[1] It is curious to see the general design of this doorway, exaggerated to the point of absurdity, in the doorway of S. Giovanni a Carbonero at Naples.

This survey of the Gothic period in the architecture of Italy, imperfect as it is, may yet serve to show how ineffective was all the wealth and all the devotion of the Italians, even at the period of their growing prosperity and opulence, to produce anything which should answer in kind to the great Gothic monuments which had risen beyond the Alps. In material resources, in intellectual development, in civic energy and pride, the Italian communities were, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, immeasurably in advance of any other people in the world. One would suppose that in setting aside the manner of church building, which had, under various schools, prevailed in Italy for four centuries, and in adopting the style which, among the northern nations, had produced monuments of such grandeur and magnificence as Amiens and Rheims and Chartres, — as Canterbury and Salisbury, — as Strasburg and Cologne, — the intelligence of the Italians would have shown them what were the essential and governing principles of that sublime architecture, and would have taught them that success in that path lay in an entire and frank adoption of those principles, and an equally sincere renunciation of the traditions of the earlier Italian building. But those traditions were too strong to be overcome, and the constant effort of the architects was to use the new style in a way to conform to them so far as possible. Hence it was rare that any serious attempt was made to bring the design and the construction into harmony — to make them interdependent; and the result of this indifference was generally fatal to both.

Fig. 388. Girgenti. Lower Part of Tower.

CHAPTER IX

CIVIL ARCHITECTURE

Thus far, in our survey of the early architecture of Italy, we have been concerned nearly exclusively with the buildings of the Church. In the destruction which so often overtook the cities of Italy during the dark ages through the violence of warring factions, the churches were generally spared. When Frederick Barbarossa captured Milan in 1162, he gave the city over to fire and the sword, but exempted from destruction the churches and the bastions of the city walls. "In a few days," says Hallam, "the pillaged churches stood alone among the ruins of what had been Milan." And it was most often the case that piety or superstition stayed the hand of the conqueror at the church door. Yet when we consider how rude were the methods of building all through these early centuries, how unskilled the workmen, how great and unceasing the danger from conflagrations, it is remarkable that so many of the ancient churches have been kept standing in more or less of their original integrity to our own day.

But when we turn our eyes away from the churches and seek for the civic buildings which must have served the various needs of even the rudest of governments and people, we are forced to seek in vain. Throughout the length and breadth of Italy scarcely a trace of such buildings can be found going back farther than the twelfth century. This can hardly be wholly accounted for by the destructiveness of war, great as that was; nor by the frequency of large and disastrous conflagrations, frequent as those were. What were then the civic buildings of the dark ages? Not to speak of the houses of the people, which, as in all other parts of Europe, were doubtless during these ages little better than cabins, what were the palaces of the sovereigns, — what the houses of the great lords, — what the public buildings?

It may be said that the little we know of the state of society in the dark ages does not warrant us in assuming that any civic buildings were erected worthy of consideration or inquiry, that the sovereigns

were but savage chiefs who lived in rude castles, that civilized life scarcely existed outside the monasteries, of which the schools and hospitals were accessories, and that the slender and rude commerce of the times called for nothing in the way of buildings of any importance. Yet Italy was, even during the Lombard occupation, sown with cities like Pavia, Milan, Verona, in the north, and Naples, Salerno, Benevento, in the south, — cities in which the arts of civilized life had made some substantial progress. In Florence commerce began to flourish during the tenth century, and it was in the eleventh that Pisa on one side of the peninsula and Venice on the other commanded the admiration and envy of Europe by their far-reaching commerce and their unequalled art, not less than by their achievements in war. It seems not too much to suppose that such communities might not confine their architectural requirements to the building of churches. But upon this point, as upon so many others, history fails to enlighten us. We know something of the great movements of population, something of the succession of kings, and dukes, and emperors, and popes, something of the wars they waged, and the states they founded and destroyed; but of the people themselves, — of the lives they led, and the work of their hands, we know little indeed.[1]

Thus even in Rome, where the wars of factions were less frequent and violent than in the northern cities, the only private house which is older than the fifteenth century is the singular fragment known as the Casa di Crescenzio, — or oftener perhaps as the House of Rienzi, — which is presumed to have been built by the son of the usurper Crescentius about 998. It stands (what is left of it, for the original house was a long building extending to the river-bank) close to the Tiber, and near the Ponte Rotto. The portion still standing measures about thirty-seven by twenty-five feet, and is of a curious design, the lower story having a close line of engaged columns of no known order, standing in square recesses, and carrying a strangely irregular entablature, much enriched, the frieze of which is made up of fragments of antique reliefs. This is surmounted by a narrow gallery with coupled arched windows, carried on the projection of the cornice, above which is a second story with a flat undecorated wall. The building, including the columns, is of brickwork of excellent quality. The mixture of styles — the lower story seeming to have been inspired by confused traditions of classic art, yet

House of Rienzi.

[1] Hallam says the archives of all the Italian cities, down to the time of Frederick Barbarossa (that is, to the middle of the twelfth century), have perished.

suggesting the influence of Asia, while the upper portion follows the simpler and ruder forms of the Lombard architecture — inclines one to suspect that the two portions were of different ages, and that the lower portion only was the work of Crescentius.[1]

If we may judge from the example of this poor ruin, and from the scanty references which the mediæval literature of Rome affords, we may conclude that the houses of the wealthy classes in Rome in the tenth and eleventh centuries were built of brick, commonly adhering more or less closely to the Lombard forms, but ornamented — where ornament was employed — with columns and fragments from the ancient temples and civic buildings of classic times. The material for such decoration was still abundant. "The number of ancient buildings," says Gregorovius, "was still immense. The greater part of the triumphal arches, porticoes, theatres, baths, and temples existed as magnificent ruins. . . . Since the days of Totila no enemy had injured Rome; no emperor or pope, however, had protected the monuments. Charles the Great had already carried off columns and sculptures to Aix la Chapelle, and the popes, who at first looked on the ancient monuments as the property of the city, had soon neither mind, nor time, nor power to trouble themselves about their existence. The Romans were left at liberty to plunder the city; priests purloined columns and marbles for their churches, nobles and clergy built towers upon the splendid buildings of antiquity; the burghers erected their forges, looms, and spinning factories in baths and circus. . . . The sarcophagi of heroes were employed as cisterns, wash-tubs, or troughs for swine, even as they are to-day." [2]

Decay of Rome.

But it is not in Rome that we must look for the earliest movements in the direction of civic architecture. Rome was for centuries the one point in Italy which showed most forcibly the prostration and decay which followed the extinction of the old civilization. Lying under the immediate shadow of the papacy, and having neither manufacturing nor commercial industry, she had no industrial middle class, but only a crowd of imperious and half-savage nobles, with their brutal men-at-arms, entrenched in their strongholds either within or without the walls, and a degraded rabble who found a precarious living by the favor of one or another noble family. The monuments of ancient Rome were already in ruins, and with the exception of the basilicas of the early Church nothing had replaced them. "The traveller," says Mr. Bryce, "who,

[1] D'Agincourt, vol. iv., pl. 34; Mothes, p. 664.

[2] Gregorovius, vol. iii., p. 537, Hamilton's translation.

Fig. 389. House of Rienzi.

journeying to Rome, found himself gazing from the summit of the Monte Mario, over the eternal city, saw it, not as now a sea of billowy cupolas, but a mass of low red-roofed houses, varied by tall brick towers, and at rarer intervals by masses of ancient ruin, then larger far than now; while over all rose those two monuments of the best of the heathen emperors, — monuments that still look down, serene and changeless, on the armies of new nations and the festivals of a new religion, — the columns of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan." [1]

Life of the northern cities.

In the north, the stagnation of Rome was strongly contrasted by a new and vigorous life. In Florence, in Pisa, in Genoa, in Milan, commerce had in the eleventh century reached a surprising development. With the steady increase of the commercial spirit, and in spite of the wasting wars in which the cities were continually involved, came a rapid increase of wealth, and an intense local patriotism. This municipal spirit was encouraged by the German emperors, who dreaded more than all else a united Italy, and who saw with satisfaction the organization of the free cities as independent communes. Out of this extravagant local feeling grew the great monuments, both civil and ecclesiastical, which made the Italian cities so splendid in the Middle Ages, and which

[1] James Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 284.

make them to-day to the architect the most interesting cities in Europe.

The great feudal lords who upheld the authority of the Emperor in Italy established themselves from the ninth century in strong castles, in most cases in the neighborhood of the great towns. These castles commonly occupied lofty sites carefully chosen so as to command the high-roads, the rivers, and the passes of the mountains. From these secure fortresses, the lords issued for war or for plunder, as occasion offered, levying tolls on all travellers, and embarrassing seriously the commerce of the cities. Their depredations became at length so intolerable that the cry went up from the cities, — Down with the castles! In the early years of the twelfth century, by virtue of more or less concerted action by the various cities, Florence taking the lead, and Milan, Verona, Parma, Brescia, and other

Fig. 390. The Towers of San Gimignano.

cities supporting her, a great destruction of castles went on all over the North of Italy.[1] The lords, thus dispossessed of their strongholds, were forced to come into the cities, and submit themselves to the authority of the municipal governments. Special acts were passed regulating the terms on which they were admitted to residence. They proved, however, as might have been predicted, to be scarcely less odious in the cities than they had been in the country. The houses which they built for themselves were provided with towers not less for defence than for ostentation.[2] These towers — perhaps the most striking feature of the mediæval city — often reached a height of two hundred and fifty

Houses of the feudal lords.

[1] See Hallam; Taine's *Italy;* Sismondi, *Italian Republics;* Dantier, *L'Italie*, etc.

[2] The first title of nobility in Florence was to be the owner of a tower, and still more of a loggia adjoining the ancestral palace. This distinction belonged only to a few families, who were thence called "*famiglie di loggie.*" R. de Fleury, *La Toscane*, etc., vol. i., p. 9.

feet or more. They were commonly from twenty-five to thirty feet square, with walls four or five feet thick, with few and narrow openings. The lower story was often vaulted, with an aperture at the crown of the vault through which in war-time the defenders mounted by rope ladders. Corbels projected from the walls at intervals for the support of scaffoldings for the use of the fighting men. The roof was flat and protected by battlements, the shape of which indicated the faction to which the owner belonged.[1] Under the stormy conditions of mediæval city life, these towers multiplied with surprising rapidity.[2] The security which they gave to the nobles enabled them to defy the efforts of the citizens to resist their constant outrages, and the streets of

Fig. 391. Brescia. Torre della Pallata.

[1] Perrens, *La Civilisation Florentine*, p. 21; Sismondi, *History of the Italian Republics*.

[2] In Lucca, about 1322, Castruccio Antelminelli began the construction of a fortress, — Rocca Augusta, — in clearing the ground for which he destroyed eleven towers besides many houses. Mothes, p. 782.

Mothes (p. 426 note) cites five Italian authorities who estimate the number of towers in Pisa, in 1120, at ten, fifteen, and sixteen thousand. This is, of course, absurd, since there is no reason to suppose that the population of Pisa ever exceeded that of Florence, which is believed never to have passed one hundred thousand. A more reasonable ground for estimate is in the allusions of contemporary eleventh-century chroniclers who speak of one hundred and fifty towers of citizens in Florence, of one hundred and fifty-nine in Ascoli, of more than one hundred in Padua, etc., etc. In them, also, we read of

every Italian city were the scene of continual broils and skirmishes. The pages of Machiavelli teem with riot and bloodshed. The distracted burghers found themselves again forced to abate an intolerable nuisance by restricting the height and number of the towers. In Florence, Bologna, Pistoia, Verona, Genoa, laws of this kind were enacted. Florence in 1250 decreed that the height of all towers should be reduced to fifty braccia (about one hundred feet), and the material thus removed be used in building an embankment on the south side of the Arno. In Pistoia the podestà was obliged to take an oath to allow "no tower to be built in the city or suburbs higher than the tower of the sons of Hildebrand Vandini."[1]

Fig. 392. Verona. Tower of Palazzo dei Signori.

Few examples remain in Italy of these half military and half domestic towers. The most familiar are the two neighboring leaning towers of Bologna known as the Asinelli and Garisenda, dating from the beginning of the twelfth century, which have now a height of two hundred and twenty-five and one hundred and thirty feet respectively. Whether the latter is the original height of the Garisenda, or whether, like so many others of its class, it was cut down by order of the commune, is not known, but from the apparently unfinished termination, the latter is the more probable conclusion.[2]

"La torrita Pavia," "La torrita Cremona," "La torrita Pisa," etc. In San Gimignano, not far from Siena, we may see what is probably the nearest approach to the "towered" city of the eleventh and twelfth centuries which remains to us, yet the number of towers still standing in San Gimignano is only thirteen. (Fig. 390.)

[1] It was not only the nobles who built towers for themselves. As early as 1076, St. Arialdus complains that the priests of Milan had become enriched, and had built themselves "high towers for defence and pride." Mothes, p. 413.

[2] These towers are remarkable for their apparently dangerous inclination, amounting

Fig. 393. Como. Porta Torre.

The Torre della Pallata at Brescia, dating from the thirteenth century, is an example of an unusual form, a broad square with battering base, strong angle buttresses, and the usual machicolations and battlements.

Communal towers.

There was another class of towers which are extremely interesting as an illustration of the civic life of the Middle Ages; those, namely, which were erected from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries by the communes themselves, mostly during the twelfth century, but also earlier and later, — to serve the double purpose of bell-towers and watch-towers. They were sometimes raised over the town-gates, more often in the public square or as a part of the town hall. Such was the so-called Torre del Pubblico at Modena, known also as La Ghirlandaja, which stands near the cathedral, and of which the square portion was built about 1224, capped with battlements, furnished

in the Garisenda to something like eight feet, and in the Asinelli to five. As in the case of the Pisa tower, this inclination has been by many writers presumed to have been intentional on the part of the builders. Such a theory appears unreasonable on every ground, but especially perhaps in view of the proximity of the two towers, and the fact that they lean in different directions, the lines of inclination nearly crossing each other. Ricci cites early records and manuscripts to show that it was common during the thirteenth century for cities to pass laws ordering the destruction of towers believed to be unsafe.

with a bell, and put under the charge of the *militi*. The present belfry and the spire, which rises to the height of three hundred and fifteen feet, were added a hundred years later. (See Fig. 84.)

Such was the tower of the commune at Mantua, and also at Mantua the Torre della Gabbia, built perhaps by the commune and perhaps by the family of the Buonacolsi as part of their palace, in 1302. Such was the well-known tower in the great square of Verona, built about 1172 by the Lamberti, and coming two centuries later into the possession of the commune, when, as in so many similar instances, the rude strength of the early tower was mitigated by the change in the form of the belfry stage, and by the addition of a smaller octagonal stage above it. In the present instance, the change resulted in one of the most striking and beautiful towers in Italy. (Fig. 392.)

Fig. 394. Florence. Porta San Gallo.

The magnificent tower of St. Mark at Venice was founded in 902, and thirty years later was, according to the chronicles of the time, well advanced towards completion. It retained its original form (but what that was is not known) until the middle of the twelfth century, when it appears to have been in part or in whole rebuilt. In this case, as in that of the Verona tower, the belfry and spire were later additions, and were not completed till after 1400.

Gate-towers.

Of the fortified towers which protected the gates of the cities, very few are left. The Porta Torre at Como is one of the earliest of these, dating from 1192. (Fig. 393.) The great entrance arch at its base makes the lowest of five stages, each of the others having two plain round arches opening from floor to ceiling. The cornice is gone, but the tower was doubtless crowned by the

usual battlements. At Florence several of the ancient gate-towers are still in existence. The Porta San Niccola is similar in design to the tower of Como just mentioned, except that it has but three stages and a single round-arched opening in each. The Porta San Gallo and the Porta San Frediano are each of a single stage with a segmental arched opening under a round bearing-arch, with battlements above. In the former, the battlements are of singular form, their outer face being curved to a sharp edge at the top. (Fig. 394.)

Many towers now serving as campaniles for churches had also a more or less military or civic character. The tower of San Frediano at Lucca (see Fig. 204), dating from the early part of the twelfth century, has a flat roof protected by the forked battlements of the Ghibellines, and was doubtless availed of in case of need for the purpose of defence. The great tower of Cremona, called the Torazzo, the highest in Italy, rising three hundred and ninety-six feet above the pavement, was built in 1283, to celebrate the conclusion of a peace between Cremona, Florence, Milan, and Brescia.

Of most or all of the towers above mentioned, the severe military aspect has disappeared by the changes of which I have spoken. It is sufficiently manifest in such towers as those of the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence, the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, and others of like

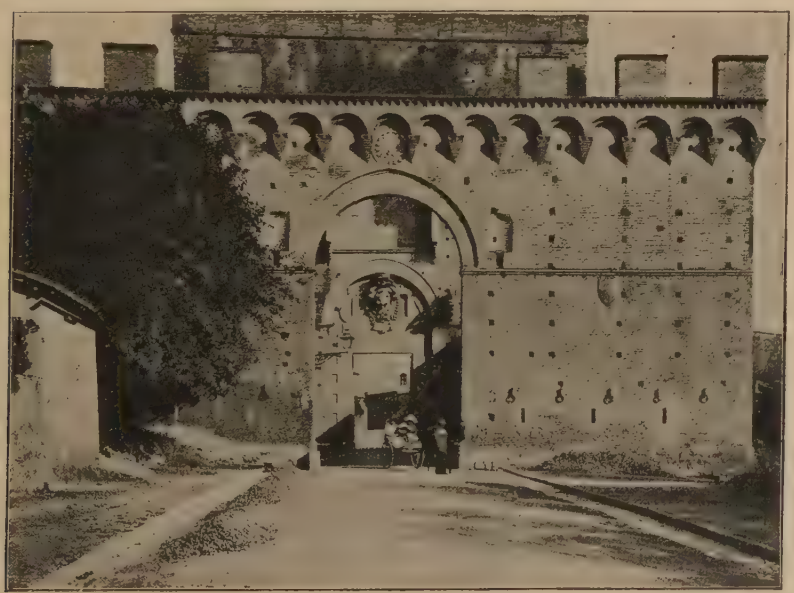

Fig. 395. Siena. Porta Romana.

Fig. 396. Verona. Ponte del Castello.

character, and in the well-preserved tower of the old Porta del Castello at Vicenza, which stands by the side of the town gate and not over it, and where the unbroken walls, the bold machicolations and the battlements above speak emphatically of mediæval war.

Fortified bridges.

The bridges of cities, as important thoroughfares, were often defended by towers, — as in Verona, where the river divides the city into two parts connected by four bridges which were thus fortified in the fourteenth century. One of these, the Ponte del Castello, still stands with its massive tower on either shore, a low octagonal tower at every pier, and a continuous line of forked battlements along the whole length of the bridge on each side. This bridge dates from 1335. (Fig. 396.) The bridge over the Nera at Narni, of which most of the arches have fallen, and been replaced by timber framing, has a fortified tower in the middle of its length; and a similar example, dating from the twelfth century, is still to be seen at Lamentano near Rome. (Fig. 397.)

The use of the municipal towers was, however, by no means restricted to the work of attack and defence. Their bells aroused the citizens in times of disturbance or danger; from their summits watchmen kept a lookout for the frequently recurring fires which constantly threatened the cities with destruction; in time of war, a system of signalling was maintained by the use of banners by day and lanterns by night. On the approach of an enemy, white, black, red, or yellow banners were hung out from the tower in the direction from which the attack was to be apprehended, — the colors indicating the estimated number of horse or foot composing the force.[1]

In some public squares of Italy there was at the foot of the tower a broad platform of stone called the Pietra ringadora, whence the

[1] Ricci, vol. i., p. 588.

magistrates were accustomed to address the people in case of sedition or tumult. Such a platform existed in late years at the foot of the Torre del Commune at Modena, from whence it was removed to the piazzetta at the foot of the Torre Maggiore. When the town halls were built, mostly in the thirteenth century, these platforms were superseded by the characteristic balconies on their fronts, called *ringhiere*.[1]

Houses in cities.

Of the houses which the nobles built in the cities, the remains are less even than those of their towers. Constant devastation by war, and especially by fire will easily account for their disappearance. The frequency of widespread conflagrations in the cities, though not surprising, is one of the most striking features of mediæval life. The construction of the great mass of houses invited calamity. The private houses of the people were of wood, slightly built, small and low, roofed with wood or thatch, and often without chimneys,[2] but with an open hearth on which fires were kept for

Fig. 397. Bridge at Lamentano.

warmth and for cooking. The window openings were closed with oiled linen. Piacenza and Ferrara, and doubtless other cities, made

[1] Ricci, vol. i., p. 590.

[2] It is said that as late as 1368 there were no chimneys in Rome. Ricci, vol. ii., p. 364.

a law towards the close of the twelfth century prohibiting the use of wood or straw for roof coverings, and prescribing that tiles should be used. In Milan a law was passed prohibiting the lighting of hearth fires when the wind was blowing. Several of the most disastrous conflagrations are noted in the contemporary chronicles. Venice in 1112 was visited by a fire which destroyed the buildings covering sixteen islands, among them twenty-two churches. In Padua, in 1174, a fire broke out which destroyed 2614 houses. Florence suffered repeatedly in the same way. Villani, in his "Croniche Fiorentine," speaks mournfully of two great fires, the one in 1115, the other two years later. "In these two fires were destroyed many books and chronicles which more fully preserved the remembrance of the things which have happened in our city of Florence, so that few were left. Whence it has become necessary for me to recover in the authentic chronicles of other cities and countries a great part of what I have here set down."

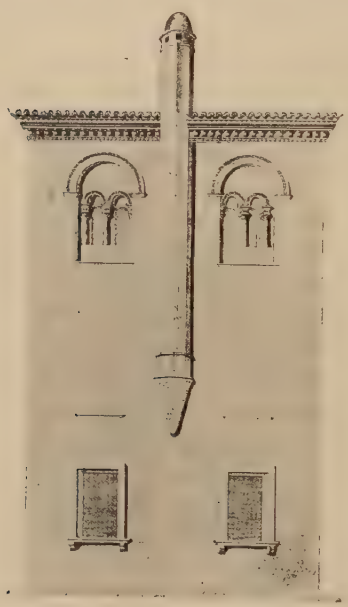

Fig. 398. House at Ravenna.

And Machiavelli gives an account of a fire which broke out in 1304 in the neighborhood of the Mercato Vecchio, and raged over a large part of the city, destroying seventeen hundred houses, including many palaces of the nobles.[1]

In Ravenna, Ferrara, and other cities of the North of Italy are still to be found houses of which the street fronts resemble that shown in Fig. 398, taken from Runge,[2] and copied by Mothes, who assigns them to the early part of the twelfth century. They are singularly modern in design, with three stories, of which in this example from Ravenna the upper shows broad round-arched two-light windows with bearing-arch, the openings separated by columnar mullions, the archivolts decorated with good geometrical ornament in terra cotta. The distinguishing feature which these houses have in common is the projecting polygonal chimney rising through the centre of the front.

[1] Machiavelli, *Istorie Fiorentine.*

[2] *Backstein Architektur.*

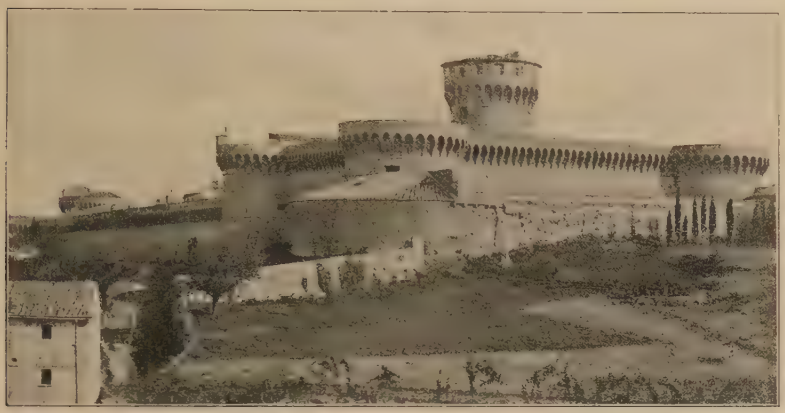

Fig. 399. Volterra. Ancient Fortress.

Of the fortified castles multitudes both within and without the cities remain, dating chiefly from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but in some instances rebuilt at that time upon the smaller and simpler remains of older castles. Such was the Castello di Corte at Mantua, which, dating originally from the end of the thirteenth century, was greatly enlarged in 1395 by the Gonzaga then in power. Such was the castle of the Este at Ferrara, rebuilt about 1385, and said to be the first in Italy to be built with reference to the use of artillery. Such was the castle of Fontenellata, near Pavia, standing within an enclosure of strong battering walls with round towers at the angles, surrounded by a broad moat, — the drawbridge now replaced by a stone arched bridge. Such was the castle of Pavia (Fig. 401), built about 1360 by Galeazzo II. of the Visconti, and such the castle of Pandino, near Crema, built a few years later by his kinsman, Barnabo Visconti. Such was the Castello Vecchio at Verona, built in the fourteenth century by Can Grande, which has been for the most part rebuilt, but of which some towers and walls yet remain, capped with the forked battlement of the Ghibellines. The Castles.

Such, in the South of Italy, were the great castles of Naples, — the Castello Capuano, and that of S. Salvatore al Mare, built originally, according to Vasari, in the middle of the twelfth century, but rebuilt and enlarged about 1220, it is said, by Niccolo Pisano, who built at about the same time the picturesque Castello del Ovo, which forms so familiar a feature in every view of Naples. Such were the many strongholds of the Emperor Frederick II., the great castle

builder, at Bari, Trani, Brindisi, Celano, and other towns of Apulia and Calabria, dating from 1230 to 1240, — and the private castles of the nobles at Gravina, Castel del Monte, Melfi, and many others.

The general character of all these castles was substantially the same, — a great square of buildings with massive towers, either square or round, at the angles, and enclosing a square court, generally surrounded by the open arcades of a vaulted corridor, which gave access to the principal rooms. In the south there was perhaps less uniformity of shape, the mass of buildings being frequently broken up into varied and picturesque masses.

In the earlier examples the outer walls, whether of stone or brick, are severely simple, with few and small openings, and crowned by bold machicolated cornices, surmounted by battlements, either square or forked, as in the older portions of the Castello di Corte at Mantua.

Castello Nuovo, Naples.

Sometimes the battlements are wanting, as in the great castle of Volterra, recently restored (Fig. 399), and in the Castello Nuovo at Naples, an immense and lofty pile, rectangular in plan, with three gigantic round towers at each end. The curtain walls are now pierced with six or seven stories of Renaissance windows to fit the building for its modern uses. The castle at Bari is a noble example of this early construction. A superb square tower of rough but admirable stone work projects its whole breadth from the castle wall. Wall and tower have lost their cornices and battlements, and an arcade in the upper portion of the wall has been filled up, as have also some small arched openings in the tower. The castle stands on a terrace whose high battering

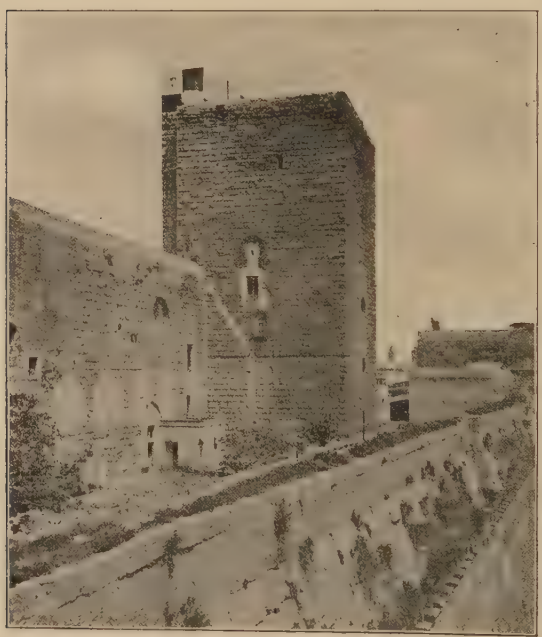

Fig. 400. Bari. Angle of Castle.

wall adds greatly to its imposing effect. (Fig. 400.) The court still shows its fine round-arched porch projecting into the square, its massive columns having large Byzantine-leafed capitals with stilt-blocks. A broad stone stair in an angle of the court leads to the second story of the castle.[1]

As time went on the severity of the earlier castles gave way before the softening influences of a less savage state of society ; and nothing

Fig. 401. Pavia. Castle of the Visconti.

is more significant of the gradual mitigation of the mediæval barbarity and violence than this change. In the castle of the Visconti at Pavia, for instance, built not much after the middle of the fourteenth century, — a great square of nearly four hundred and twenty feet on a side, surrounded by a broad moat, — the outer walls are pierced with two ranges of fine two-light windows, with traceried heads under a pointed bearing-arch. The towers have four stages, with a similar window in each face. (Fig. 401.) The court is admirable, an open pointed arcade on all four sides supporting a story of fine windows varying in design on the various sides of the quadrangle, with three and four lights separated by columnar mullions, and enclosed by a circular bearing-arch with traceried circles in the arch-head. The wall is finished with a decorated terra-cotta cornice. The whole of the masonry, except the columns and the

Visconti, Pavia.

[1] Schulz, vol. i., p. 20.

Fig. 402. Malpaga. Castle of Colleoni.

arches of the first story, is of brick. Only one side of the court retains its original aspect. A great portion of this noble castle was destroyed by the French artillery during the siege of Pavia in 1547, and time and neglect have added to the decay.[1]

Malpaga.

The castle of Malpaga, standing half way between Bergamo and Treviglio, is a striking instance of the change in manners of which I have spoken. Its age and builder are unknown. But in 1450 it fell into the possession of the Venetian republic, and shortly after into that of the famous condottiere, Bartolommeo Colleoni, who bought the castle in 1456 for a hundred gold ducats, and remodelled it for his own residence. In the rebuilding much of the original military character of the building disappeared. The Venetian ambassador, Marino Sanudo, in a manuscript which has been preserved, described it while in Colleoni's possession as "a square surrounded by a moat, and entered by a drawbridge, — a fine palace with decorated halls and chambers, a watch-tower, and magnificent gardens." Colleoni inhabited the castle for twenty years, surrounding himself with one of the most brilliant courts in Italy,[2] and here,

[1] Gruner, *Terra-Cotta Architecture of Italy*, p. 33, pls. 13–15. Mothes, writing before 1883, says the building is scarcely to be recognized in a mass of barracks, and of the great court he could find only some fragments of wall; p. 494.

[2] He is said to have had in his service at the time of his death not less than six hundred knights.

in 1475, he died. In his extensive works on the exterior of the castle he effected a radical change in its aspect by surrounding it on two sides with a range of buildings which lack entirely the severe military character of the old work, and which on the upper stage present the very unmilitary feature of an open round-arched loggia on each front, with five arches on columns. The court is surrounded on three sides by arcaded corridors with flat ceilings showing strong horizontal beams. The arches are supported on stout columns, built up in courses, with simple block capitals. The whole construction and design are of the simplest character, and were evidently unchanged by Colleoni; but the walls of the corridor, and even of the courtyard above the arches, were profusely decorated by him with frescoes, illustrating the exploits and triumphs of the great soldier, while the smaller surfaces, as the soffits of the arches, were covered with floral designs.[1] (Figs. 402 and 403.)

Fig. 403. Malpaga. Court of Castle.

At Gioja della Colle is an ancient castle with very massive square angle towers, of rude stone masonry, like that of Bari above mentioned; the tops of the towers have disappeared. Near Umbertide, a small town some eighteen miles to the north of Perugia, is the castle of Civitella Ranieri, a square mass of buildings with round angle towers capped with heavy machicolations, standing within an enclosure of high walls with fortified gateway and square towers at the angles.

[1] Fumagalli, *Il Castello di Malpaga, e le sue pitture.*

At Castrogiovanni, in Sicily, and at Conversano, in Apulia, are the ruins of extensive castles, the latter with a varied outline and plan, with a great round bastion projecting from it. The castle of Robert Guiscard, called Castel del Monte or Castromonte, which stands in ruins on a desolate rocky hill near Andria in Apulia, and which is one of the most interesting remains of the domestic architecture of the Middle Ages, had a remarkable history. The Lombard Ratchis took it from the Byzantines in the ninth century, but the Saracens got it in 1009; in 1070 it was destroyed by the victorious Guiscard, who rebuilt it for himself. Frederick II. found it again in ruins, and rebuilt it once more in 1228 for the last time. The castle is an immense octagon some one hundred and thirty-five feet in diameter, with walls nearly nine feet thick, and an octagonal tower at each angle. (Fig. 404.) There are two stories, each divided into eight vaulted rooms by radiating walls from each angle of the building. On the second story the angle towers, which, in the first story, are occupied by spiral staircases, furnish space for eight small octagonal cabinets formerly covered by domes. These apartments appear to have been finished with great elegance, the walls having been faced with various colored marbles, and the vaults ornamented with mosaics. Of the architectural design of this fine castle we can form but an imperfect notion from its present condition. The tops of walls and towers are gone, and the great octagonal court is choked with fallen masonry and other rubbish. The single entrance doorway consists of a pointed arch with columnar jambs covered with a rather flat gable, and ornamented with sculptures in red marble. Far above is a round-arched window with a solid tympanum and angle shafts. The various apartments are lighted from the court by two-light pointed windows with bearing-arch enclosed in a square.

Castel del Monte.

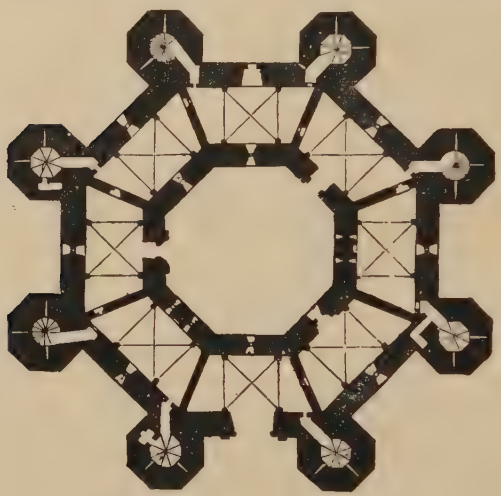

Fig. 404. Plan of Castel del Monte.

Fig. 405. Mantua. Palazzo Buonacolsi.

The steady amelioration of the conditions of city life which had prevailed during the reign of the feudal system was reflected in the city streets in the palaces which the great families built for themselves during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Most of the northern cities still retain many admirable examples of this period of transition, before the Renaissance had spread from Florence, its birthplace, among the less advanced communities. One of the earliest of these is the Palazzo Buonacolsi at Mantua, which shows us the general manner which is characteristic of this type of building, a rectangular mass three stories in height, with forked battlements, the first two stages pierced with simple square windows, — the third with large round-arched windows divided into three lights by coupled columns. (Fig. 405.)

The Palaces.

In Lucca, Pisa, Siena, Verona, and the other cities of Northern and Central Italy, the type of the private palaces varied in details, but showed a general similarity of design; presenting on the exterior a compact cubical mass of building with flat roof, the façades generally in three high stages, of which the lowest was comparatively plain, with simple openings of moderate size, while the upper

stories had large arched windows divided into two, three, or four openings by columns; the stories marked by lightly moulded string-courses, and the front crowned by a rather heavy cornice, topped in the earlier examples by battlements. The variations to which this general form was subject in the various cities appear in the material of the walls and decorations, the forms of openings, and the character of the mouldings and ornaments. In Lucca the Palazzo Guinigi had, in the first stage, an open arcade of low broad arches supported on plain square stone piers; and the windows of the two upper stories are four-light cusped and pointed arches under a round bearing-arch, the latter being as broad as the arches of the first story, so that they form like those an arcade whose openings are separated only by piers. All the masonry, except the piers of the lower arcade and the columns of the windows and the strings and angle quoins, is of brick. There is no cornice, but the front is protected by broad projecting eaves, supported by wooden brackets, with a row of plain small square openings beneath it. The details are of great elegance. The capitals of the window shafts, which are about six inches in diameter, are of flowing leafage, at once vigorous and graceful, and the labels of the small window arches are decorated with close-set rosettes in a hollow. The small oculi above the second story windows, decorated with twisted mouldings and delicate dentils, are of terra-cotta, while the cusped arches of the

Palazzo Guinigi.

Fig. 406. Lucca. Palazzo Guinigi.

window-lights are of bricks whose joints radiate from the centres of the arches, and not from those of the cusps, and which must

Fig. 407. Pisa. Palace on the Lung' Arno.

probably have been cut to the cusped outline after being set. The tower which rises from an angle of the palace is the highest in Lucca, and is a good illustration of the private tower of defence of which I have spoken on an earlier page. A luxuriant growth of shrubbery, which covers the ruined summit, makes the tower one of the most striking and picturesque objects in this charming city. (Fig. 406.) The interior retains little or nothing of its original aspect except the staircase, which is covered by a barrel-vault following the slope of the stair.[1]

[1] Verdier et Cattois, *Architecture Civile et Domestique du Moyen Age*, vol. i., p. 127. These authors assign the Guinigi palace to the first half of the thirteenth century. So

Palaces of Pisa.

At Pisa a brick palace on the Lung' Arno, dating from the fourteenth century, has a disposition of parts very similar to the Guinigi palace, but the design derives a distinct character from the greater emphasis given to the piers between the openings, which rise without interruption through the whole height of the building. Here the openings are of two lights, pointed and cusped as at Lucca, and the bearing-arch is but a segment of a semicircle. The stories are separated by light strings continued across the piers, with pointed arched corbel-tables below them, and the cornice is capped by square battlements. The whole decoration is in terra-cotta, the window columns alone being of stone.[2] This treatment of the façade is peculiar to Pisa, and is illustrated in various façades of less importance. It is, however, not without exceptions. The Palazzo Gambacorti on the Lung' Arno, nearly contemporary with the one just noticed, has a broader treatment. It is in three stages like those already mentioned, but its openings are separated by broad spaces. The windows are all of two lights enclosed by bearing-arches, segmental in the first story, semicircular above. The strings and cornice are lightly moulded, and there are no battlements. The wall is faced with dressed stone, and the whole effect is one of great simplicity and dignity. The plan is interesting; a great vaulted vestibule across the whole front, opening towards the rear on a small square court, from which open the various apartments of the ground floor.[3]

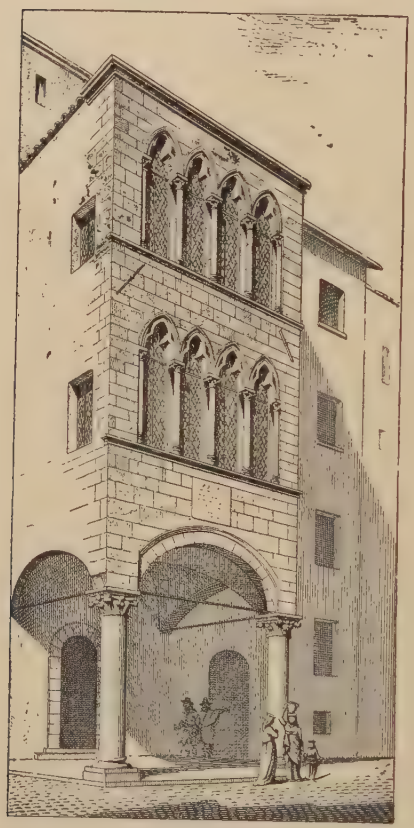

Fig. 408. Small Palace at Pisa.

early a date appears incredible from the delicacy of the detail and the general elegance of design, as well as from the absence of military character.

[2] R. de Fleury, *Mon. de Pise*, pl. 31.

[3] *Idem, op. cit.*, pl. 29.

Fig. 408 illustrates a quite different and unusual form, with two stories of grouped windows, pointed and cusped, and divided by mullion shafts, over an open loggia on the ground story, with a single segmental arch connecting two columns at the angles which form the only support of the façade.

The richest store of examples of the early city palace are to be found in Siena and Venice. Siena also has its own type of façade, and a very strongly marked and individual one, plainly modelled after the noble Palazzo Pubblico. Its most salient feature is the high sharp-pointed bearing-arch of brick, with its head filled in with solid brickwork quite unadorned, and enclosing two, three, or four pointed and cusped openings. The fronts are almost invariably of brick, with details of terra-cotta, little stone being available in the neighborhood of Siena. A perfectly characteristic example is the well-known Buonsignore palace, which has been assigned to the thirteenth century, but which is doubtless a hundred years younger. (Fig. 409.) It has a front about seventy-six feet in length, with three stages of about equal height. Its base of marble projects so as to form a bench similar to those of the Florentine Renaissance palaces. The street story is treated with great simplicity, with three plain segmental arched openings covered by sharp-pointed bearing-arches, and alternating with small windows of similar form.

Palaces of Siena.

Palazzo Buonsignore.

Fig. 409. Siena. Palazzo Buonsignore.

The other two stages are alike, with triple-arched windows. As in the Guinigi palace, the openings are very broad in proportion to the piers. The stages are separated by strings with decorated corbel-tables, and a light string marks the imposts of the arches. Above the third-story windows is a similar but larger corbel-table, and directly above that a range of strong square battlements, having each a square panel on its face with a quatrefoil enclosing a head in relief. The roof of the building was originally, if we may believe Messrs. Verdier and Cattois, above these battlements, the openings between which served as windows to light an additional story.[1]

Palazzo Grotanelli.

In the Palazzo Grotanelli, there are but two stories, the first very high with an arcade of nine narrow pointed arches over segmental openings, alternate doors and windows, the arch-heads solid but pierced by a circular opening. The wall of this story is of stone, with a great space of wall over the arcade. The windows of the upper story, which is of brick, are of two lights not cusped, with a pierced circle in the head of the bearing-arch. The cornice has a very fine decorated arched corbel-table with shields in relief under the arches. Above the cornice are strong square battlements, which, like the cornice, are decorated simply but effectively with bricks set in and out. (Fig. 410.)

Fig. 410. Siena. Palazzo Grotanelli.

Palazzo Salembini.

In the Palazzo Salembini, one of the most imposing buildings in Siena, we find

[1] Verdier et Cattois, *Architecture Civile et Domestique du Moyen Age*, vol. i., p. 50.

Fig. 411. Siena. Palazzo Salembini.

again the customary three stages, of which the first has a height of some thirty feet of battering wall, with no opening other than a single pointed doorway. The second and third stories are alike, with fine three-light pointed and cusped windows, under a sharp-pointed arch with three circles piercing the tympanum. The front finishes with a cornice over an arched corbel-table, and square battlements. The principal mass of the palace is prolonged by an extension of two stories in which the same treatment is continued. (Fig. 411.) The court of the palace is fine, — the narrow façade within the entrance, with the single high open archway, its pair of three-light windows above, its small single windows in the third story, with the corbel-table and battlements finishing the wall, is an admirable composition.

The Saraceni and Tolomei palaces are additional examples of the Sienese manner. The former has a fine angle tower. The latter (Fig. 412) shows with similar forms a somewhat lighter touch, and may be a little later in date than the others we have been considering. In most of these buildings, a great effect of strength and repose is got from the immense height of plain unbroken wall over the openings ; an effect entirely characteristic of the best Italian

work, not only of this period, but also of the Renaissance as well, and never to be seen in the same degree in any other country, except perhaps in some instances in Spain.

Venetian palaces.

Of the early palaces of Venice I have given some account in a previous chapter, — of those, namely, which were built during those years when the influence of the East was paramount in Venice, and when under that influence the church of San Marco was building. Of the Gothic palaces so called, nearly all are of the fourteenth century. There is little of the Gothic character about them except the pointed arches and the tracery of their façades. The same simple principles of composition which we traced in the Byzantine palace fronts of the eleventh century are to be seen in the Gothic palaces of the fourteenth, — the same symmetrical division into centre and wings by means solely of the disposition and treatment of the openings; the same groups of arched windows above in the middle division flanked by single windows on the sides. Only here the window arch is pointed and cusped, often of ogee form and terminating in a finial, and apt in the richer examples to be surmounted by flowing tracery. The group of four or six windows forming the centre of the piano nobile is often repeated with variations of detail in the third story. Balconies are frequent, and are for the most part extremely elegant, the balusters having commonly the form of small colonnettes with

Fig. 412. Siena. Palazzo Tolomei.

leafed capitals, joined by small arches of the same character with the larger arches of the façade, and the angle-posts often surmounted by quaint little beasts.

One of the most simple and elegant of these palaces is the Palazzo degli Ambasciatori. It has three stories, of which the second — the piano nobile — has a pergolo of four cusped and pointed arches with a range of quatrefoils in the spandrils, the whole enclosed in a square formed by the thin Venetian dentil or billet moulding. The arcade is repeated in the third story, but without the quatrefoils. Two narrow single windows on either side the central arcade are similarly treated. (Fig. 413.)

Fig. 413. Venice. Palazzo degli Ambasciatori

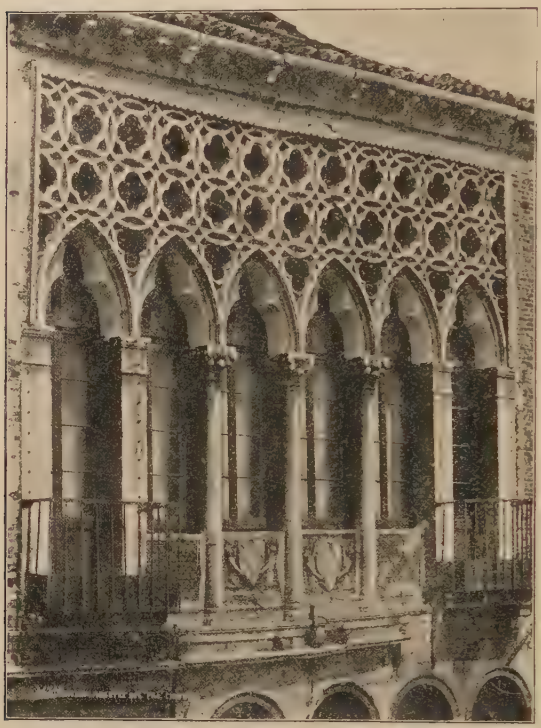

Fig. 414. Venice. Windows of Palazzo Cicogna.

The Palazzo Cicogna has its pergolo of six arches in the third story, and above the arches a double range of intersecting circles enclosing quatrefoils. The effect is singularly light and graceful. (Fig. 414.)

An unusual variation in the form of the arch is seen in a palace at San Luca. Ordinarily the cusp is a detail quite within the main line of the arch itself. In this example there is no enclosing line, but the arch itself has the cusped form, and the ornament, which in this case is a thin billet or dentil, follows its outline. The upper portion of the arch is an ogee, but there is no finial. Small roundels enclosing sculpture are set in the spaces between the arch-heads, and the arches spring not as is usual from columns, but from square pilasters. (Fig. 415.)

On the island of Murano the Palazzo da Mula has a beautiful front, in which the central pergolo, of four arches, without tracery, is flanked on the right and left by one two-light pointed window with traceried head. Four large roundels filled with tracery, and various rectangular fragments, evidently from older buildings, are set as decorations in the façade. (Fig. 416.)

The well-known façade of the palace known as the Ca' d' Oro, — perhaps the richest, though by no means the most beautiful of the Venetian palaces, — is divided into two unequal parts probably of different dates. The larger portion is occupied in the lowest story by an arcaded porch or loggia of five arches, the middle arch round, the

others pointed. Above this is the usual pergolo, of six pointed and cusped arches, with a range of quatrefoils above them as in the upper arcade of the Ducal Palace, but with the superfluous addition of another range of half quatrefoils, which throws the tracery quite out of proportion to the arcade itself. The composition is repeated in the third story, but with a variation in the detail, the arches being intersecting, with their heads filled by quatrefoils of a different form from those below. The pergolo is flanked in each story by a broad window with a slightly ogee pointed arch, gracefully treated, enclosed in a high rectangular panel, and with a projecting balcony, of which the balustrade is continued between the columns of the pergolo. The smaller division of the façade, which has the look of an addition, has in the centre a plain wall relieved by a square panel in each story, and on each side a broad window like those of the larger division. The luxury which was characteristic of the patrician class, at the time when Venice had reached the height of her power and wealth, finds its fullest expression in this palace. On the other hand, the little front of the Palazzo Contarini Fasan on the Grand Canal, from the quiet and reserve with which the characteristic forms of windows and balconies are treated, is one of the most delightful examples in Venice of this peculiarly graceful and individual style. (Fig. 417.)

Fig. 415. Venice. Palace at S. Luca.

The striking contrast between these slightly built structures, of which the whole effect is that of grace and festivity, and the stern and massive palaces of the great merchant princes of Florence or the nobles of Siena, does but reflect the contrast between the political life of Venice and that of the cities of the main land. The canals of Venice never resounded to the clash of internecine warfare like the turbulent streets of Florence. The Venetians, therefore, had no need of towers of defence or battlemented walls. Their fighting was mainly on the sea, and was directed against the foreign enemies of

the state; and during all the long centuries when Milan, Verona, Lucca, Mantua, were passing continually from the hands of one strong master to those of a stronger, Venice alone never knew invasion or siege, but kept from the seventh century to the end of the eighteenth her impersonal Doge, her elected senate, and her terrible council, — from the beginning to the end, exclusively Venetian.

The style of the Gothic palaces of Venice was adopted at a later period to some extent in the neighboring cities, particularly in Vicenza, where the Palazzo Mascarello, in the fifteenth century, and the Palazzo Schio of similar date, sometimes called the Ca' d' Oro, show the open arcades in the first story and the characteristic symmetrical allotment of central grouped and single side windows. But the Venetian charm is wanting.

Mediæval houses.

The examples of the more modest dwellings of the Middle Ages are naturally less numerous than those of the castles and palaces, since they were built in less substantial fashion and were more subject to the destruction which by fire and war was ever descending upon the Italian cities. Yet there are still to be found, in most of the cities of the north, houses which date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and which illustrate not less interestingly than the more ambitious dwellings of the princes and nobles the life of those troubled times. These smaller houses show among themselves a far wider difference in design than the larger, each town having its own manner of building, depending in part, no doubt, on the materials at hand,— stone being plenty in one neighborhood, while another at no great distance was forced to depend on brick, — but determined also in great measure by local preferences, traditions, and ways of life, which in the comparative isolation in which the cities of the Middle Ages were wrapped were but slightly influenced by those of other communities.

It is perhaps to be expected that the most characteristic remains of the domestic architecture should be found in the smaller towns, or at least in those in which the combats between jarring factions were less constant and furious than in Rome or Florence. Among the cities which have preserved to this day the best examples I may mention Viterbo and San Gimignano. The position of these towns, sitting each on its lonely hill-top apart from the high routes, has protected them from the destruction which so frequently overtook the larger cities, and from the hardly less disastrous transformations of modern prosperity. Neither of them presents us with any examples of the grand style of building which we have seen at Lucca, Siena, and

Pisa; the life of these smaller towns was less affected by the presence of powerful and wealthy families. The houses we see here are of modest dimensions and without elaborate decoration. They are not therefore the less interesting. At Viterbo the houses which have come down to us from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are built of a dark volcanic tufa, which has taken a deeper tint with the flight of time, and the aspect of the tortuous and hilly streets is somewhat gloomy. Much variety and irregularity distinguish the old houses, — projecting balconies, broad recessed loggias, outside staircases, and other striking features treated with the native and unforced picturesqueness which is characteristic of the Italian builder everywhere, make the town one of the most interesting in all Italy. I give the elevations of two of these houses, which will afford some idea of the resources of the mediæval builders. One has a frontage of about thirty-two feet; the other is somewhat broader. In the one (Fig. 418) a short staircase along the face of the wall gives access through a sort of open gateway at mid-height, similar to that which is so familar in the court of the Bargello at Florence, to a balcony some eight or ten feet above the street, supported by a flat arch which starts under the ramp of the stair, the fence of which is carried partly on small decorated corbels.

Viterbo.

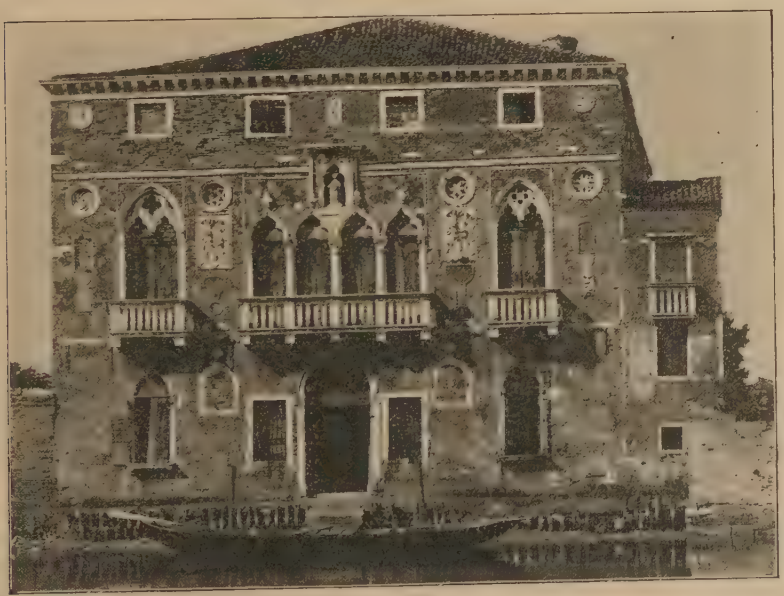

Fig. 416. Murano. Palazzo da Mula.

A segmental arched doorway under the balcony gives entrance to the basement, and from the balcony itself a small round-arched doorway opens into the entrance hall of the house. The story is high and finishes with a delicate moulded string with a fine nail-head decoration, carried on small corbels like those of the balcony below. A flat pilaster rising on one angle of the front, and stopping at this string, bears on its face a square panel enclosing a shield. The upper story is perfectly plain, with a single segmental-arched window in the middle.

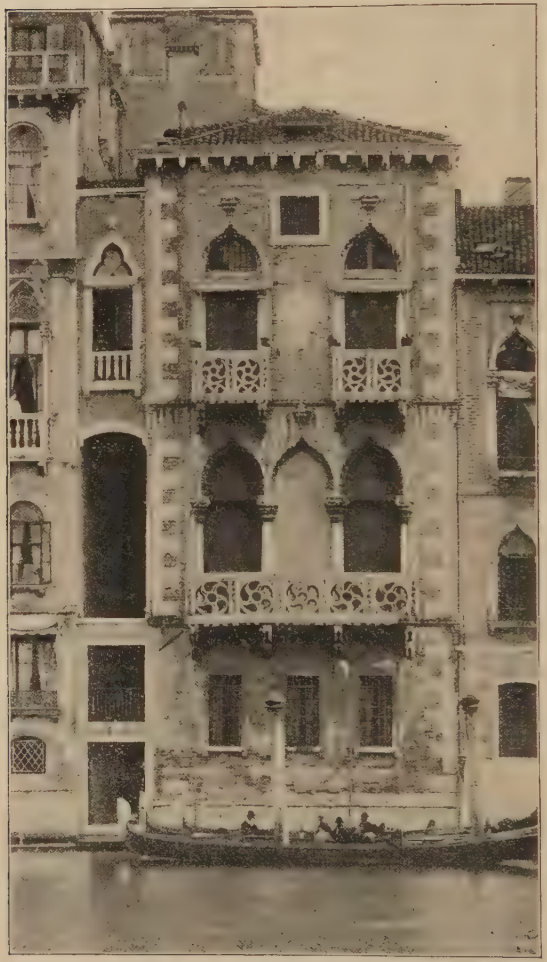

Fig. 417. Venice. Palazzo Contarini Fasan.

The other front is less irregular, but scarcely less interesting. Its principal feature is a broad open loggia covered by a low segmental arch, with a slightly projecting balcony front with much the same character as that in the last mentioned example. A plain doorway at the side opens into a vestibule, from which a short stair leads to the balcony. Above this story is a decorated string-course on close-set corbels, which, as well as the balcony and the archivolt of the broad arch of the loggia, is ornamented with the same delicate nail-head which we have noticed in the other Viterbo house. The two upper stories, both

low, are treated perfectly plainly, with two broad and low segmental-arched windows in each. Both these fronts are protected by the

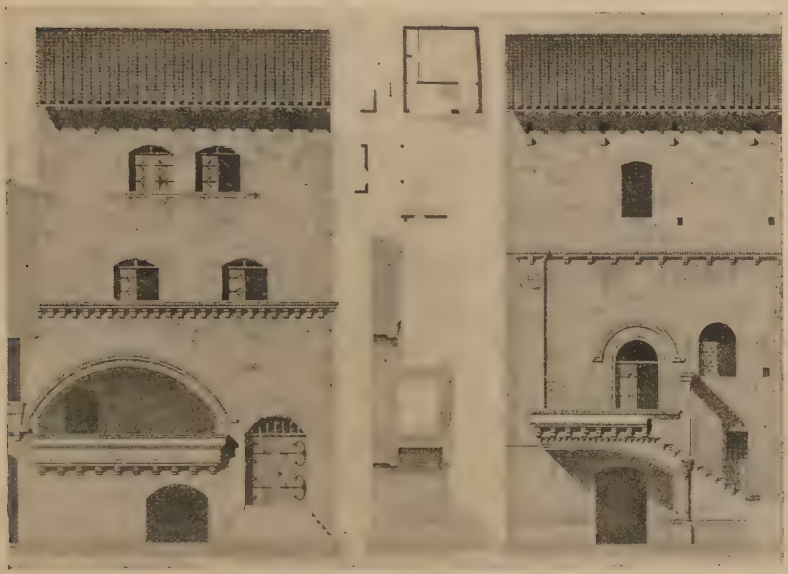

Fig. 418. Viterbo. Two Houses.

broad overhanging eaves of the roof and are without other cornice. Nothing can be more unmilitary than the aspect of these buildings, nor less suggestive of the wild and lawless life of the Middle Ages. Yet they are generally, like most of the ancient buildings of Viterbo, assigned to the twelfth century, a date which is scarcely credible in view of this absence of all indication of the need of protection from violence, and in view not less of the delicacy and elegance of the detail and ornament.[1]

In San Gimignano, that extraordinary town which perhaps retains more of its mediæval character than any other in Italy, the houses are less irregular and capricious in design than those of similar date in Viterbo, but are generally of symmetrical disposition. Stone is sparingly used, the wall above the basement being commonly of brick, and the decoration of terra-cotta. The house shown in Fig. 419, situated on a little square adjacent to a church, of which it formed perhaps the presbytery, has a front of about twenty-six feet, absolutely symmetrical, with its round-arched door-

S. Gimignano.

[1] Verdier et Cattois, vol. ii., p. 214.

way in the centre flanked on either side by narrow slits in the stone basement wall and by small square windows just above them deeply splayed on top, bottom, and sides. The second story has a wooden balcony along the whole front, with a narrow door opening on it in the middle and a broad low round-arched window on each side. The entrance doorway of the first story and the openings of the second are protected by pent-house roofs, and the front terminates in broad projecting eaves as in those of Viterbo just noticed. The wall above the stone basement is of brick, but stone is used for the angle quoins of the front and for the jambs and archivolts of the openings. There is no carving and not a moulding of any kind except in the archivolts of the two windows, but the effect is one of marked refinement and even elegance.[1]

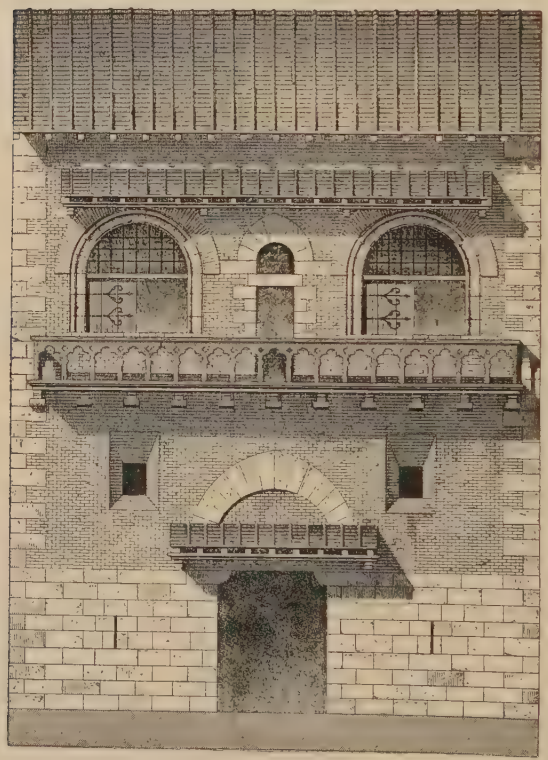

Fig. 419. House, San Gimignano.

In the narrower and probably somewhat later front shown in Fig. 420, the treatment is not less symmetrical than in the example last cited. Here there are three stages, the lowest of dressed stone with two simple segmental-arched openings, the voussoirs having a pointed extrados. The second and third stories of brick are alike in form, each having a pair of two-light pointed windows under a pointed bearing arch with a circle in the head. The decoration is beautifully managed; the voussoirs of the bearing-arches and the wall surface of the third story are varied by alternate courses of yellow bricks, while the delicate

[1] Verdier et Cattois, vol. i., p. 110.

edge-decoration of the small arches and the band of ornament enclosing the bearing arch are of softly tinted terra-cotta. Under the projecting eaves of the roof is a low attic story lighted by two perfectly plain square openings.

Fig. 420. S. Gimignano. Palazzo Pratellesi.

These few examples are sufficient to indicate the maturity and firmness of design which characterized this early street architecture. Many others equally to the purpose are to be met with in walking through this quiet town, showing remarkable variety of design while preserving a decided unity of style. In many of the smaller and obscurer towns of Italy similar examples may be found, of contemporary houses in tolerable preservation and full of distinctly mediæval character. Such is the so-called Casa del Capitano del Popolo at Gubbio, not far from Assisi, in which a wall of perfectly plain smooth stonework is divided by delicately ornamented string-courses into three stages, with broad sharply pointed arched openings, those of the lowest floor irregularly disposed, and with broad, overhanging wooden eaves.

Similar examples are even to be seen in some of the towns of South Italy. At Piperno, for instance, a thirteenth-century palace adjacent to the fine porch of the cathedral has in its lower stage an open arcade of three broad pointed arches on square piers, and in its two upper stages some grouped windows, three pointed lights below and two above, separated by shafts but without bearing-arches; while

at Ferentino is the ruin of a thirteenth century house which is worthy of Viterbo. The first story (all that remains) has an open loggia of the full breadth of the front behind two broad simple pointed arches, under which a short stone stair ascends to a balcony at mid-height, protected now by a rude wall, but originally by a fence supported on corbels which still remain. A large round arch under the balcony gives access to the cellars. Here is to be observed a manifest affinity with the style of Viterbo.[1]

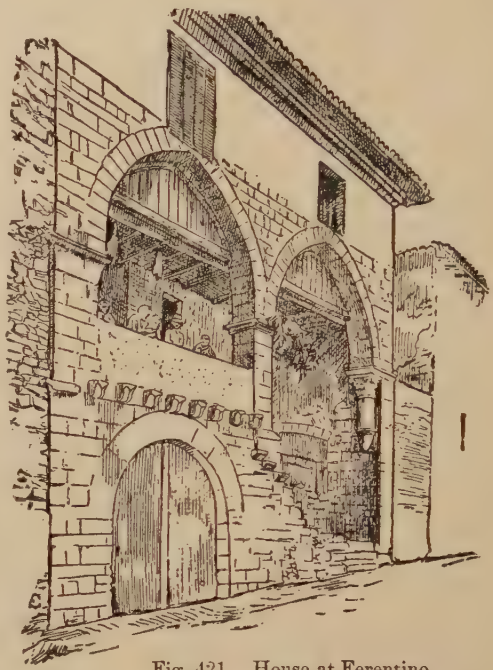

Fig. 421. House at Ferentino.

Sicilian palaces.

I have noticed in a previous chapter the highly characteristic and most interesting development of a domestic style which went on in Sicily during the early period of the Norman occupation under the strong influence of the Arabian examples which remained. This beautiful style was modified a little later, losing its most distinctively Saracenic features in favor of more pronounced Gothic forms. Yet even then, the civil architecture, like the ecclesiastical, retained a character which was all its own, and which is not to be found elsewhere than in Sicily. Perhaps the most striking example is the building in Palermo known at present as the Ospedale Grande, but built about 1320 by Matteo Sclafani as a palace. What remains is only a fragment of the original building, but presents a façade about one hundred and twenty feet long with a tall blind arcade occupying perhaps seven-eighths of the height, formed of intersecting slightly pointed arches carried on very high thin pilaster strips which divide the wall into twelve bays. A strong belt-course runs along the whole front below the spring of the arches, on which are set a range of rather small two-light pointed

At Palermo.

[1] Enlart, pp. 163, 164.

windows, occupying the arch-heads, with circles above decorated with a parti-colored geometrical inlay. Above the arcade is a low story, with twelve small coupled windows without bearing-arch. The cornice and battlements, if there were such, have disappeared. The walling is of stone, and the thin voussoirs are alternately of dark and light marble, which, taken in connection with the intersecting lines of the arches, and the contrasting colors of the inlays, imparts great life and movement to the façade. The palace has an interesting court with two stories of arcades.[1]

Somewhat earlier than this palace, the family of Chiaramonti, warm rivals of the Sclafani, had also built a palace, which is now used as a court house, but was in the beginning known as the Steri palace. It is of sterner architecture than that last noticed, with a lower story nearly or quite thirty feet high without openings, and two upper stories, each with a range of two and three light pointed windows not unlike those of the Sclafani palace. The uppermost story has lost half its length, and the cornice and battlements are

Fig. 422. Palermo. Palazzo Sclafani.

gone. The inner court is much changed, retaining little of its original aspect, but the great hall of the principal story has still its elaborate ceiling with its Saracenic decoration.[2]

[1] Mothes, pp. 584, 585; Gally Knight, *Sar. and Nor. Rem.*, pl. 26.
[2] Mothes, p. 585.

Fig. 423. Taormina. Badia Vecchia.

At Siracusa, the Palazzo Montalto, probably built towards the close of the fourteenth century, has a range of two- and three-light windows with broad bearing-arches, in which the Norman chevron is conspicuous, while the twisted mullion shafts, the jamb columns, and the broad archivolts, remind one of Verona. (Fig. 424.)

At Taormina. At Taormina several buildings of the fourteenth century, in somewhat ruinous condition, illustrate also in an interesting manner the influence of the Saracens. Of these, the most notable are the Palazzo Galati, dating from about 1330, the Badia Vecchia, probably somewhat later, and the Palazzo Corvaia, formerly known as the palace of the German lords (Palazzo dei Signori tedeschi), dating from 1372. Of these, the two first show the same large coupled windows which we have seen in the contemporary palaces of Palermo, while the third shows distinct variations in the form of openings, the windows of the side elevation being coupled under a bearing-arch with ogee curves in the Venetian manner, and on the entrance front a similar window of three lights, under two interlacing ogee arches. What is not less unusual, the exterior disposition expresses the interior, where one half the building is occupied by a large hall on each story, the remainder being divided into smaller apartments. On the entrance front, the treatment of the former is superior in height as well as in material and design to that of the latter. The entrance door is a low elliptical arch with its label moulding carried up into

a low ogee arch.[1] The belt-course on which rest the windows of the principal story is a characteristic example of decoration, with shields in the frieze between narrow bands of delicate inlay.

The extent to which the taste of individual builders in Italy was sometimes attracted by the earlier Sicilian architecture is well illustrated in the Casa Ruffola at Ravello.

Ravello, Casa Ruffola.

It is rather a villa than a palace, built towards the close of the thirteenth century by one or another of the great and public-spirited family who had controlled the affairs of the little town. The house stands in the midst of somewhat extensive grounds, with outbuildings of various kinds, detached towers, pergolas, etc. Its plan (Fig. 426) is irregular, and includes a fine interior court with three stories of arcaded galleries, the lowest with three great pointed and stilted arches on each side on slender columns, like the arcades of the Capella Palatina and Monreale, the upper with fifteen small arches with an extravagant and ugly interlacing pattern carried far above them. (Fig. 427.) The entrance tower is remarkable, — a square of about twenty-five feet, covered by an

Fig. 424. Siracusa. Windows of Palazzo Montalto.

interior dome, and surrounded inside by two blind arcades of interlacing pointed arches on coupled columns.[2]

[1] Mothes, p. 588.

[2] Schulz, pl. 87.

The Public Palaces.

But the most important illustrations of the civic architecture of the Middle Ages are the town halls or communal palaces, in which, as soon as the independent city governments were established, the authority and power of the citizens were centred. Great numbers of these buildings, singularly alike in general character and style, remain in more or less perfect preservation to this day, and many of them still serve the purposes for which they were erected five and six centuries ago, and which are expressed with remarkable appropriateness and force by their architecture.

The conditions out of which they grew varied, of course, in the different communities; yet such variation was but slight compared with the constancy and vigor which characterized the life of all the Italian cities in the thirteenth century. It was an age of extraordinary activity and enterprise both public and private throughout Northern Italy. One would suppose that the constant and devastating wars from which the cities were rarely free would have absorbed all their energy and all the resources of their inhabitants; and that the savage passions and the cruel sufferings of such a time would have unfitted men for all beneficent and productive enterprises. Yet all accounts agree that the physical condition of the Italian cities was far in advance of that of any other portion of Europe, and that their power and population, to use the words of Hallam, "in proportion to their extent of territory, were almost incredible." The country around the cities, says Sismondi, was under careful and high cultivation, "by an active and industrious race of peasants, enriched by their labor, and not fearing to display their wealth in their dress, their cattle, and their instruments of husbandry. The proprietors, inhabitants of the cities, advanced them capital, shared the harvests, and alone paid the land tax. They built dikes to protect the plains from the rivers. The Naviglio Grande of Milan, which still spreads the clear waters of the Ticino over the finest part of Lombardy, was begun in 1179, resumed in 1257, and finished a few years later. . . . The cities, protected by thick walls terraced and guarded by towers, were for the most part paved with broad flag-stones, while the inhabitants of Paris could not stir from their house-doors without plunging into the mud. The rivers were crossed by fine stone bridges,[1] the fountains in the squares were supplied with flowing water by aqueducts from the

Condition of the cities.

[1] Of the bridges of Florence the Ponte Vecchio is said to have existed in the time of the Romans, but has been repeatedly destroyed and rebuilt. The Ponte alle Grazie was built in 1235, the Ponte alla Carraja in 1269.

neighboring hills." [1] Such activity and enlightenment in the midst of prolonged political and social discord is perhaps the most emphatic tribute to the elevating and preserving influence of self-government, since these great works were all due to the intelligence and freedom of action of the Italian republics. In Milan, it is true, and in the other cities of Lombardy, the republic came to a violent end in the middle of the thirteenth century, when the supremacy of the Visconti was established. But before this, as early indeed as 1228, the citizens had built for themselves a group of public buildings, which included palaces for the podestà, the consuls, and other officers of state, with a prison and an arsenal. Little is left of these buildings beyond that portion now known as the Loggia degli Osii, a three-story edifice, of which the first story is an open arcade of five round arches on square piers, the second also an open arcade, but of pointed arches on columns, and the third a low story with a range of niches in groups of three corresponding to the arches below, and enclosing statues. Between the first and second arcades is a continuous balcony divided into square panels carrying armorial shields, and having in the middle the ringhiera, which sufficiently indicates the original purpose of the building.[2]

Fig. 425. Taormina. Palazzo S. Stefano.

[1] Sismondi, *History of the Italian Republics.*

[2] Galvaneus Flamma, a Milanese chronicler, writing about 1350, gives some figures concerning the city of Milan in 1288, under Gian Galeazzo Visconti. Private houses, 13,000; population, 200,000, including 600 notaries, 200 physicians, 80 schoolmasters, and 50

Their government.

To conceive any clear idea of the successive forms of government which followed each other so rapidly in these restless communities, is a difficult matter; since the accounts of the contemporary chroniclers are obscure and are variously interpreted by modern writers. The visible authority was from an early period

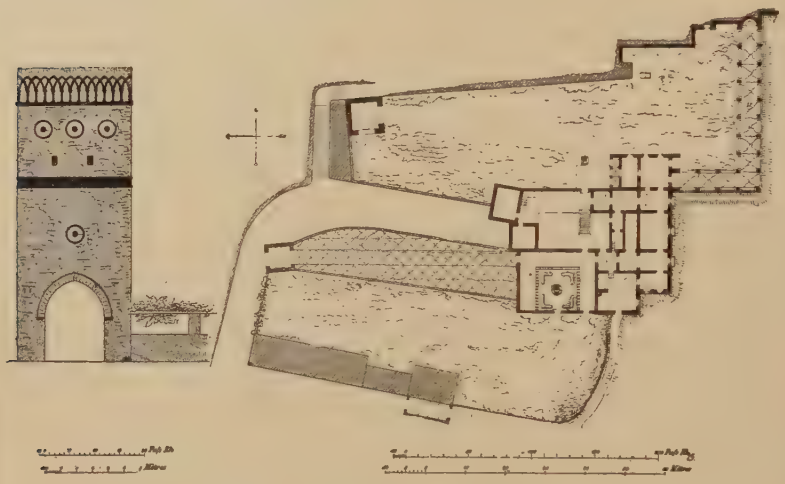

Fig. 426. Ravello. Plan of Casa Ruffola.

vested in a podestà, appointed at first by the emperor, and later elected by the citizens or by their council.[1] The podestà was always

transcribers of MSS. In war the city and its dependent territory could put in the field 8000 gentlemen cavalry and 240,000 fighting men. The Milanese territory, which was by no means large, being rather less than thirty miles square, roughly speaking, included 150 castles with villages at their feet of greater or less extent. (Quoted by Hallam, i., 256, who adds the remark that Flamma is known to have been a flatterer of the Visconti, and may not improbably have exaggerated the resources of their dominions.)

[1] Sismondi, in his *History of the Italian Republics*, gives a striking and probably not incorrect notion of the functions and power of this magistrate.

"When the podestà got news of any offence on the part of a citizen against the dignity of the state, he hung out from the windows of his palace the gonfalon of justice, called the citizens to arms by the sound of trumpets, issued forth on horseback surrounded by his guards, and, followed by all the people, proceeded to lay siege to the house of the offender. When the house was taken it was destroyed to its foundations. In the execution of this duty the criminal was sometimes made to suffer the extreme penalty, but even in such cases there was nothing of the forms of legal procedure, — nothing to suggest the liberty of a well ordered republic. In a community whose members were independent, and constantly at war among themselves, the chief of the State himself declared war against rebellious citizens, and it was by means of a rally of all the people that he maintained a kind of subordination. Every man depended upon his own energy and spirit for his personal liberty and upon the government only to repress disorder when it became excessive."

Fig. 427. Ravello. Court of Casa Ruffola.

a stranger, with the combined powers of a captain of the military force of the city, of a judge of criminal offences, and of a general peacemaker. In Florence, which from the middle of the thirteenth century was the leader of civilization in Italy, and therefore in the world, as Pisa had been a century before, a palace was built for the podestà as early as 1250. It is the building now known as the Bargello, and in its sternness of aspect, in its picturesque mingling of military strength of construction and beauty of feature, it is entirely typical of its class, and exactly representative of the civil life of which it was the centre. The building covers a space of about one hundred and ten by two hundred feet, but the greater portion, of somewhat less height, is probably later in date than the remainder, though the style of the original is strictly preserved throughout. There are three stages of rugged rock-faced stonework, of unequal height. The lowest is very plain, as usual, with simple square doorways, with heavy lintel and pointed bearing-arch, and a few small windows set high in the wall. Such a lower story was well calculated to withstand a vigorous attack from an enemy who knew not gunpowder. In the second story, the piano nobile, this severity is scarcely mitigated by the few openings in the form of round arches enclosing two pointed and cusped lights separated by a columnar mullion. These windows are the prototype of most

Florence, Bargello.

of the great windows in the public buildings of Tuscany for the next hundred years. We find substantially the same design in the Palazzo Vecchio and in Or San Michele. It does not vary greatly in character, as will be observed, from the windows which we have seen in the thirteenth-century private palaces of Siena, though in these the opening was oftener of three lights than of two. In the earlier palaces of the Renaissance we may see the same type of window appearing with but slight modification. In the third story the windows are various in design and position, but in the main façade of the newer portion is a symmetrical range of broad pointed and cusped openings undivided. The wall is finished with a strong arched corbel-table and square battlements. A slender tower no more than eighteen feet square rises from an angle of the building to the height of one hundred and seventy feet without other feature than a plain round arch in each face of the belfry. (Fig. 429.)

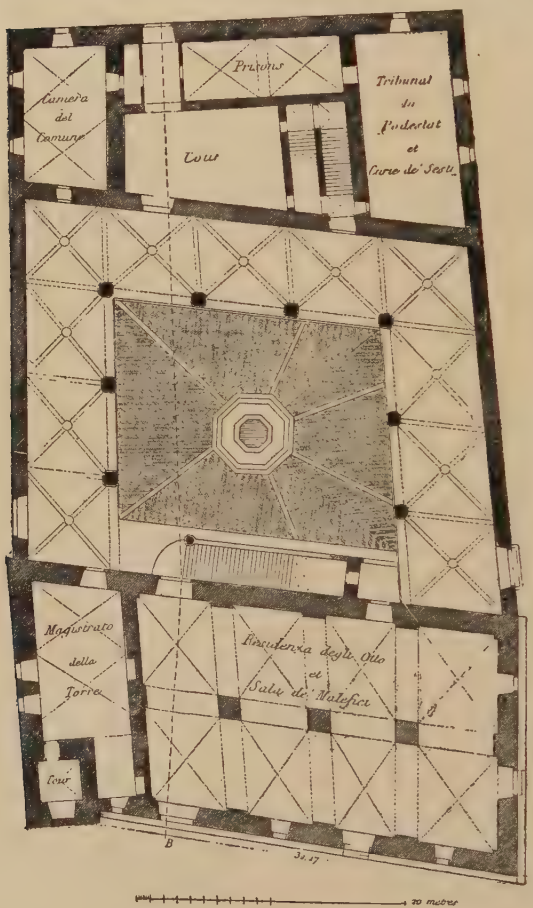

Fig. 428. Plan of the Bargello.

The finest portion of the Bargello is the interior court, an oblique quadrangle of about sixty-five feet, surrounded on three sides by a broad vaulted gallery with three arches on each side, rather less than a semicircle, supported on strong octagonal piers with admirable foliated capitals and boldly

moulded bases. In its grand scale, its vigor and simplicity of design, and its beauty of detail, this arcade is a characteristic example of the best civil architecture of Florence in its best days. Above it, on one side of the court, the open arcade and gallery are repeated, but with six arches instead of three, the treatment similar to that below. This gallery is reached from the court by a straight staircase of stone interrupted at mid-height by a landing with a massive stone gateway with a heavy lintel. (Fig. 430.)

Fig. 429. Florence. The Bargello.

Of the apartments of this interesting palace, which is now most worthily occupied by a national museum of antiquities of surpassing value, there remains a fine hall on the principal floor measuring fifty-two by eighty-five feet, and sixty feet high, vaulted in large square bays.[1]

Before the end of the thirteenth century the government of Florence had got itself organized on the basis of its guilds or trades. At this stage of its history Florence presented perhaps the most complete example which the world has seen of an avowed and powerful commercial aristocracy.

As the prosperity and the greatness of the city had been built up for three centuries on the foundation of trade and manufactures, so the pride of the citizens now, at the height of its greatness, rested on the same foundation. The trade guilds, or arts, as the Florentines called them, were mostly established

The Florence guilds.

[1] R. de Fleury, *La Toscane au Moyen Age.*

Fig. 430. Florence. Court of the Bargello.

during the twelfth century. The most important among them were the art of wool, the art of cloth-working called *callimala*,[1] of silk, and of banking. To these were added in 1193 three more, viz., the arts of the apothecaries, of the skin and leather dressers, and of judges and notaries. The heads of these seven greater arts were called consuls, and were, all through the thirteenth century, magistrates of the city in effect, though not in name. Towards the end of the century, in 1282, they were, under the name of priors, given the chief control of the city,[2] and in 1298 the Palazzo dei Priori, now famous as the Palazzo Vecchio, was built for their use. Its architect

[1] This was not the weaving of fabrics, but the dressing of foreign cloths from Flanders, France, and England, and dyeing them with colors known to Florence alone. In their finished state these goods were sent to all the markets of Europe, stamped with the mark of the Callimala Guild, a mark highly prized as a proof of good quality, as showing that the exact length of the pieces had been scrupulously verified in Florence, and as a guarantee against any falsification of the materials. The importance to which this trade had attained is illustrated by the statement of Villari that it gave employment in Florence in 1338 to 30,000 persons, who dressed annually 80,000 pieces of foreign cloth valued at 1,200,000 florins in gold. The cathedral is said to have been built largely from the profits of this trade.

[2] A good account of the arts or guilds of Florence, and of the constitution of the government of Florence at this time, may be found in Villari, *History of the Two First Centuries of Florentine History*, pp. 270–312, *et seq.*, of the English translation. Consult also Perrens, *La Civilisation Florentine*, p. 10–16.

was Arnolfo di Cambio, who held the office of architect of the commune, who had been now for four or five years engaged upon the works of Sta. Croce, and the marble facing of the baptistery, and who was just entering on a greater work — the rebuilding of the cathedral.

The Palazzo Vecchio is too familiar to need description. Its architecture is the same as that of the Bargello, but even bolder and sterner. As in the Bargello, the lower wall is nearly unbroken, and like the face of a cliff. (Fig. 431.) The second and third stories are alike, of great height, with the two-light windows of the type I have just referred to. Above them, in place of a fourth story, is an open gallery, carried on the arches of the great corbel-table, whose tremendous strength and vigor, repeated in that of the tower, make it the most striking feature of the building. The great tower rises sheer from the face of this gallery, more than four feet in advance of the wall below, to the height of three hundred feet. The audacious character of this construction will be best appreciated by means of the figures.[1] (Figs. 432, 433.)

Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.

Fig. 431. Florence. Palazzo Vecchio.

The court of the Palazzo Vecchio is smaller and less interesting than that of the Bargello, and has preserved less of its mediæval character, having been

[1] A careful and interesting analysis, by Mr. C. H. Blackall, of the construction of this tower in conjunction with the front wall of the palace, may be found in the *American Architect* for June 20, 1885.

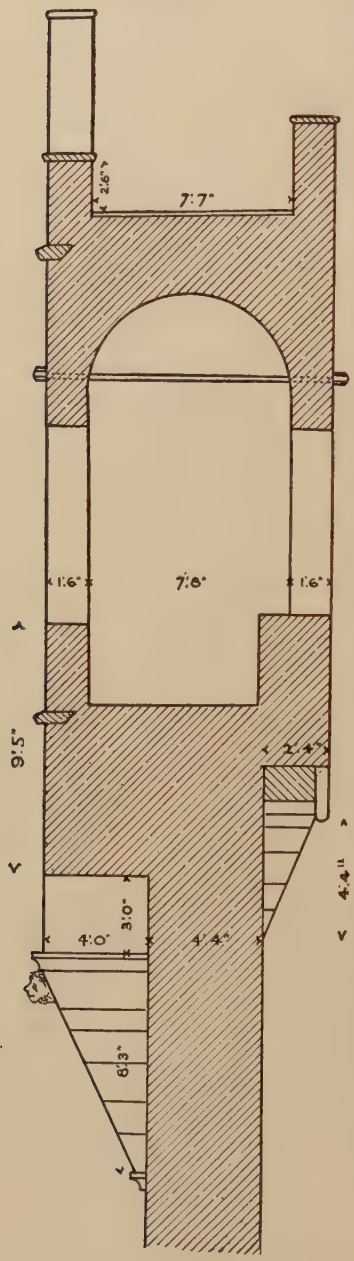

Fig. 432. Section of Main Cornice of Palazzo Vecchio.

restored by Renaissance architects. Yet it is still a fine example of the sure instinct of the Italian builders of this age for majestic effect. The octagonal piers of the arcade were substituted in 1434 for the original piers of brick, which were found to be of insufficient strength, — a curious failure on the part of an architect who could build the tower to stand secure and firm for six hundred years. The interior of the palace retains little of its original aspect, most of its apartments, including the great council chamber, having been given, by later reconstructions, a distinctly Renaissance character.

Florence was now, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, at the height of its prosperity and splendor. While the palace of the Priors was building, says Machiavelli, "the public prisons were begun and finished in a few years, and never was our city in a greater or happier state than in these times, full of men, riches, and reputation; 30,000 citizens bearing arms, and 70,000 from the country around. All Tuscany obeyed her will, whether as subject or friend." [1]

This idyllic period was of brief duration. A few years later, the picture grows dark again. In 1304 the great fire destroyed seventeen hundred houses, including many palaces of the nobles; the factions of Bianchi and Neri convulsed the city for many years, and in 1348 the plague carried off ninety-six thousand of the population.[2]

[1] *Istorie Fiorentine*, vol. i., p. 84.

[2] This is Machiavelli's statement, which, however, ill accords with the estimate of various historians that Florence never had a population of more than a hundred thousand.

Fig. 433. Florence. Head of Tower of Palazzo Vecchio.

All this accumulation of disasters did not, however, entirely arrest, though it did seriously interrupt, the physical development of this extraordinary community. The great square upon which stands the Palazzo Vecchio, and which was the centre of the life of the city, was to be enclosed by a vaulted arcade of unexampled scale, which, had it been carried out, would have made the Piazza della Signoria the most magnificent and imposing public place in the world. The decree for this work was passed by the Grand Council in November, 1356, while as yet the city had but partially recovered from the frightful ravages of the plague of 1348; but its commencement was delayed for another twenty years, and only a small portion of the splendid enterprise was ever carried out. This portion is known as the Loggia dei Lanzi, the appellation being derived from the Landsknechts or Lansquenets, which formed at that time a portion of the garrison of Florence. It was long asserted to have been the work of Andrea Orcagna, but it is now known that Orcagna was dead some years before the loggia was begun, and the design is attributed to Benci di Cione and Simone Francesco Talenti.

Loggia dei Lanzi.

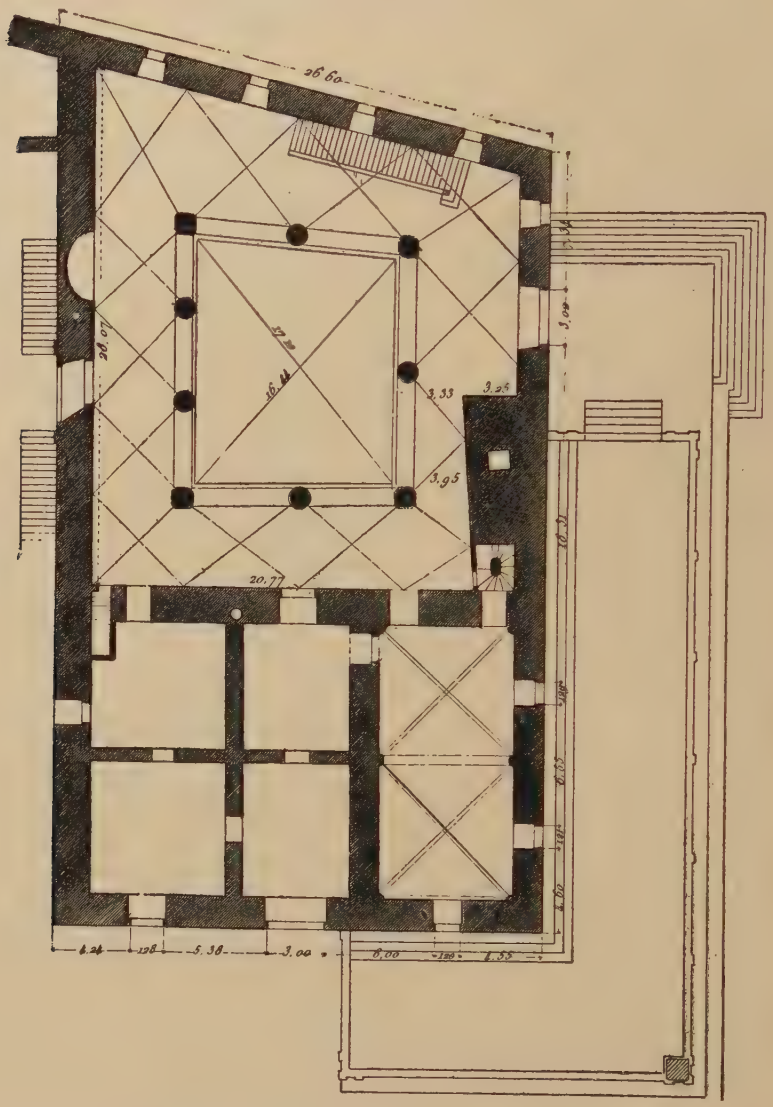

Fig. 434. Florence. Plan of Palazzo Vecchio.

It is extremely simple — three great round arches on the front and one on each end enclosing a rectangular space of about forty by one hundred and ten feet, covered by three square groined vaults. (Fig. 435.) But the scale of the work is gigantic; and the disposition of parts is so just, the forms are so vigorous and noble, and the

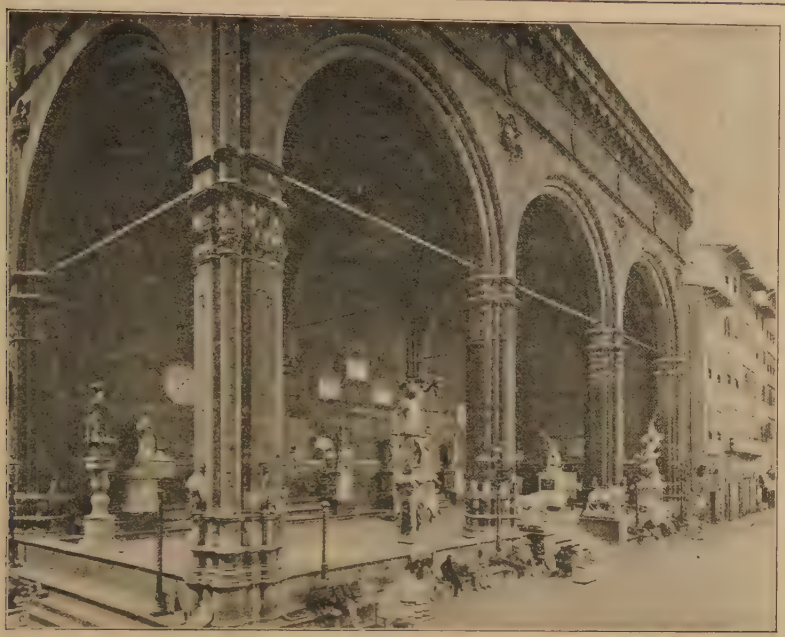

Fig. 435. Florence. Loggia dei Lanzi.

ornament so beautiful and so well placed, that the effect is hardly surpassed by any monument of civil architecture in Italy. The arches, which have a span of thirty-two feet and a height of fifty, are supported on octagonal piers about six feet in diameter, with very high, elaborate, and admirably moulded bases and large foliated capitals, above which, as in the cathedral, pedestals are interposed between the capital and the spring of the arch. A fine frieze, set with shields at intervals, a singularly rich and beautiful arched corbel-table, and a pierced parapet above complete the composition, and carry the height to eighty feet. The ornament is abundant, but not profuse, and is of a noble and serious character which befits the architecture. The large panels in the spandrils of the arches are filled with emblematic figures in high relief representing the virtues. They were originally illuminated with color on a background of gold mosaic.[1]

Siena.

In Siena, where the intelligence and enterprise of the community had not, as at Florence, the stimulus of great commercial and manufacturing interests, although the civic spirit was perhaps not less active and warm than in Florence, the intellectual

[1] R. de Fleury.

and artistic development of the people was on the whole greatly inferior. But if Siena failed of the commerce and wealth of Florence, she was spared the bad eminence "of bloody feud and frequent broil," which the greater city maintained for three centuries. The fighting of the Sienese was done for the most part outside their walls and against alien foes; and this comparative exemption from

Fig. 436. Siena. Palazzo Pubblico.

internecine strife appears in the aspect of their buildings, both public and private.

The Palazzo Pubblico, which answers to the two Florentine palaces I have just noticed, is one of the most characteristic and beautiful buildings in Italy. It was begun in 1287, eleven years before the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence. The design, which was the work of Agostino of Siena, is peculiar in showing, what is rare among the buildings of its class in Italy, a variation from the rigidity of the usual cubical mass. In this instance the monotony of the front, which is about two hundred feet long, is relieved by the superior elevation of the centre, which has a fourth story above the battlements of the main cornice, with two small belfry turrets at the angles. The treatment of the front is otherwise of the same character with the private palaces of Siena which I have before described. Like them, it is of brick, with the segmental arches of the first story, under pointed bearing-arches with solid heads, and the two upper stories of broad three-light windows. It is probable that the third story originally existed only in the central portion of the building, — the arched corbel-table of the wings indicating the position of the original main cornice. Changes have been

Palazzo Pubblico.

Fig. 437. S. Gimignano. Palazzo del Podestà.

Fig. 438. Venice. Ducal Palace.

made also in the upper stages of the central portion, which was built with five windows in the third story and three in the fourth. The characteristic indifference of the Italian to regularity of design is illustrated by the two unequal bends in the line of the front, and by the position of the tower at its eastern extremity. This tower, which was built between 1325 and 1345, has a remarkable distinction, even in this land of beautiful towers, from its extreme slenderness, its great height and its absolute plainness, until it flowers out at the summit with the long machicolations of the cornice and the belfry stage above them. The breadth of the tower is but twenty-two feet, while its height is about two hundred and eighty-five ; and as the face of the building from which it rises has nothing of the savage strength of the Florentine palace, so the tower which crowns it substitutes grace for power and delicacy for vigor. The machicolations of the cornice are composed of high pointed arches, four on each side, about four feet broad, supported on corbels which have the form of a long inverted pyramid with a height of nearly or quite sixteen feet, and a projection of something over three feet. Above this a broad frieze bearing armorial shields is crowned with broad square battlements, inside which rises a small belfry with a single round arch in each face. If this tower does not astonish the beholder like the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio, it can never fail to impress and charm him. At its base is the square loggia built in 1376 as a votive chapel to

commemorate the deliverance of Siena from the desolating plague of 1348, which is said, with the usual exaggeration of the old chroniclers, to have killed in a single summer no less than eighty thousand of the population, even as Florence is said to have lost in the same year ninety thousand. The one statement is doubtless as true as the other. The loggia is about thirty-two feet square, with a broad and high round arch in each face, — that on the front, which forms the entrance, being closed by a magnificent gate of wrought iron, of the simplest design, but of great vigor and effect. The detail of the loggia is of great elegance, and partakes somewhat of the character of that of the Bigallo at Florence, though with less purity, — the influence of the coming Renâissance being plainly to be seen.

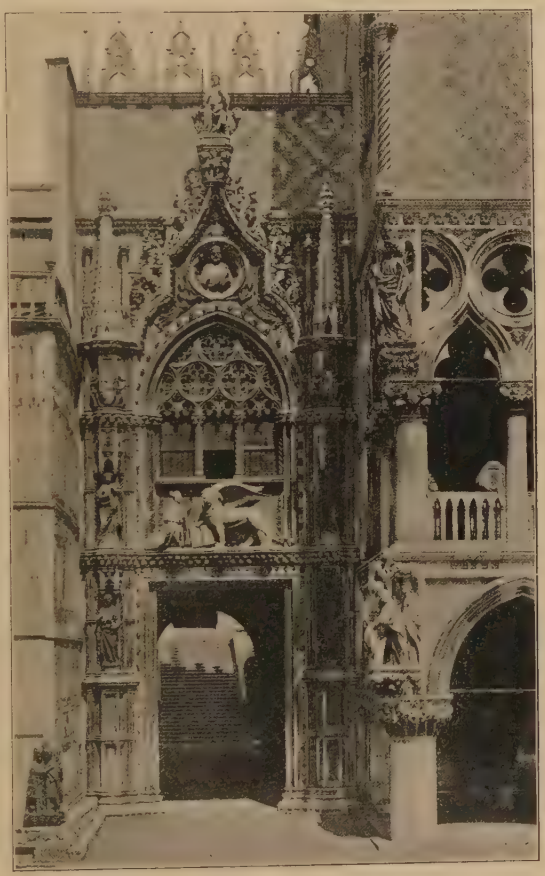

Fig. 439. Doorway, Ducal Palace.

The side of the palace, particularly when taken in connection with the adjacent building of somewhat later date, containing in the basement the prisons of the commune, was scarcely less striking than the front in the great square. The two buildings were joined by a broad low segmental arch supporting a battlemented terrace which afforded communication between the two, and under which a broad stair descended to the lower level of the court from which the basement story was entered. All this is now

abolished. The form of the great arch (of some thirty-five feet span) can still be distinguished, but a rough brick wall fills all the opening between the two buildings.

The interior disposition of the older building is interesting. The greater portion of the ground floor is taken up by storerooms for various sorts of merchandise; the remainder, perhaps a third part of the whole, is occupied by the usual cortile, which bears an unusual relation to the building of which it is the entrance court. This portion of the palace is separated by a narrow passage running quite through from front to rear, from the remainder. The court with its enclosing arcades is entered directly from the square. The rooms which surround it on the upper stories are mostly small, but in the central portion of the palace is a fine council hall, measuring about thirty by eighty feet, now used as a court-room, and opening by arches on its side into a small chapel with a curious obliquity in the side walls, divided into three groined bays. The greater part of the interior has been modernized.[1]

Fig. 440. Todi. Palazzo del Popolo e dei Priori.

Venice, Ducal Palace.

The ducal palace of Venice may be considered — at least as far as the external aspect of it with which we are most familiar is concerned — to be the contemporary of the public palaces of Florence and Siena. But the Venetian palace was already an ancient building when those of its rival cities were begun. Its early history is obscure. In 976 the church of St. Mark's and the adjacent palace of the doges were destroyed by fire. Little or nothing is known of either building. The Doge Pietro Orseolo

[1] R. de Fleury, *La Toscane au Moyen Age*, vol. ii.; Verdier et Cattois, vol. ii.

began to rebuild both, at his own cost; but after nearly exhausting his fortune on these and other public works, he retired from the world in 978 and entered a monastery. Whether church or palace was finished is uncertain. Both were probably of wood. Various old chroniclers speak of a new S. Marco as begun in 1043, and as being built of brick. This is the church for the decoration of which the Doge Selvo collected with such indefatigable zeal the materials from all the Eastern ports, which he brought to completion about 1074, and which with many additions of construction and decoration, extending over the next three centuries, we see and admire to-day. As to the condition of the adjacent palace in these years we are left in ignorance. But as this was the period at which the private palaces of the Byzantine style were built, which I have spoken of in a previous chapter, there is little doubt that the palace of the doge was of similar architecture. It appears to have been built piece by piece, with frequent renewals of one portion or another, of which no clear record is obtainable, until 1340, when a decree of the senate ordered the rebuilding of the outer walls. This was followed by several other decrees of similar nature during the next ten years, of which the meaning is difficult to gather. We hear of Pietro Baseggio and Filippo Calendario as architects, of whom the latter came to a violent end in 1353, being hanged between the windows of the palace he was building, for his presumed connection with the conspiracy of

Fig. 441. Fano. Palazzo della Ragione.

Fig. 442. Gubbio. Palazzo dei Consoli.

Marino Faliero. Under these architects, it appears, the arcades of the two principal façades were built. Whether these arcades were originally intended to support the upper wall which they now carry, or whether, as has been contended, that wall was brought forward at a later period in order to enlarge the great hall in the upper story, is uncertain. Let us hope, for the credit of their architects, that the latter guess is the correct one. For the extreme pictorial beauty of the building can scarcely atone for the reckless construction, which defies reason and common sense, and which resulted naturally in dangerous settlements, both vertical and lateral, requiring tie-rods, both longitudinal and transverse, throughout the entire length of the façades, the walling up of arches in the lower arcade, and finally, within the last twenty years, the practical rebuilding of large portions of the arcades in two stories.

The building is too familiar to require a description. The two principal fronts — on the sea and on the piazzetta — are of nearly equal length, — 246 and 234 feet respectively; the arcades are perfectly continuous and unvaried; the upper wall is absolutely flat, and pierced by infrequent broad, simple pointed windows, disposed at regular intervals in the vast space, the central window in each front

forming part of an elaborate composition, with balcony, flanking pinnacles, and canopied statues. The wall surface is covered with a lozenge-shaped pattern of diaper work made up of small blocks of white and pale red marble, and the small cornice is surmounted by a peculiar battlement suggestive of an Oriental origin, but perfectly characteristic of Venice, and scarcely found elsewhere.

The detail of these façades is of the most admirable character, — the mouldings are firm and masculine, the forms of arches and tracery are strong and full of grace, and the sculpture is masterly throughout. The capitals of the arcades are infinitely varied in subject and treatment, and the groups of figure sculpture at the angles have the vigor of the best Northern Gothic, with a grace and beauty which the Northern Gothic never attained. It is difficult to class this sculpture, since it is as far removed from the ordinary Byzantine work as from the Lombard, and seems in its abundance and variety to form a school by itself.

Fig. 443. Orvieto. Part of Palazzo Communale.

Smaller public buildings.

No other among the public palaces of Italy has the eminence and splendor of those of Florence, and Siena, and Venice. But a throng of lesser buildings sprang up all over the North of Italy belonging to the same class and the same age, and exhibiting the same general style, though varied in its use, as we have seen to be the case with the private houses of greater or less importance, according to the materials at hand and the traditions and tastes of the various cities. Of these some have ceased to exist,

as the Palazzo dei Signori at Verona, of which the great tower and a few fragments of wall are all that is left (see Fig. 392, p. 236); some have been radically changed in later days, and exhibit little of

Fig. 444. Viterbo. Episcopal Palace.

their original character, as the Palazzo della Ragione at Vicenza — a Gothic building dating from 1287, but rebuilt in 1549 by Palladio in the fullest style of the Renaissance. But in most of the smaller cities, as well as in the larger, we find under one name or another — Palazzo Pubblico, Palazzo della Ragione, Palazzo del Consiglio, Palazzo Communale — the old house of government, the centre of the historical traditions and interest of the ancient community, still standing grave and venerable in the midst of the commonplace streets and squares of the modern town. In Piacenza it dates from 1281; in Bologna from 1290; in Pistoia from 1295; in Perugia from 1300; the group is, as will be observed, exactly contemporaneous with the conspicuous examples I have already noticed. Most of them are too well known to require description or illustration here. But in many of the obscurer towns, lying off the ordinary routes of travel, there are examples which deserve to be better known.

At Todi.

In Todi, for instance, a little town lying some twenty miles to the eastward of Orvieto, is a perfectly preserved and most

picturesque pile of buildings which was known as the Palazzi del Popolo e dei Priori. (Fig. 440.) The building is in two distinct portions, of somewhat different dates, — the smaller portion, built about 1267, projecting boldly forward from the larger addition, which is some thirty years later. The architecture shows an interesting variation in the two portions of the building. In the older the openings, which have evidently been rearranged, are in groups of three and four, divided by small columns over a basement of plain round arches. In the newer we find the characteristic three-storied arrangement, plain below, with broad three-light windows above, under bearing arches, pointed in the second story, round in the third. But here the second story, the piano nobile, is given more than its usual prominence, not only by its great height, but by sharp crocketted and finialed gables above the window arches. A fine straight stair in the angle of the two buildings gives access to this story, and adds greatly to the picturesqueness of the composition.

At Fano, an ancient town on the Adriatic, half way between Ancona and Rimini, the Palazzo della Ragione, dating from 1299, is of two stages only; the first an open arcade of round arches on square piers, with lightly moulded archivolt of brick; the second of four-light windows with slender columnar mullions under a round bearing-arch, with its head filled in with brickwork laid in a delicate ornamental pattern, the jamb mouldings of

At Fano.

Fig. 445. Viterbo. Episcopal Palace, Rear View.

terra-cotta carried around the arch. The cornice has a brick decoration similar to that of the arch-heads. In this front all the arches are round; but in the cortile of the Palazzo del Commune, presumably of nearly or quite the same date, the windows of the piano nobile have the more usual form of two pointed lights with pointed bearing-arch. A fine open vaulted loggia of round arches adjacent to the palace on the second story, is approached by a broad stair from the court-yard. (Fig. 441.) At Gubbio the Palazzo dei Consoli is a much higher building, with four stages, the first of high narrow open pointed arches, the others with the usual two-light windows and the arched corbel-table and battlements, with a slender angle tower similar to that of the Bargello at Florence, rising from an angle of the building. A later addition on one end has an open arched loggia in the upper stage. (Fig. 442.)

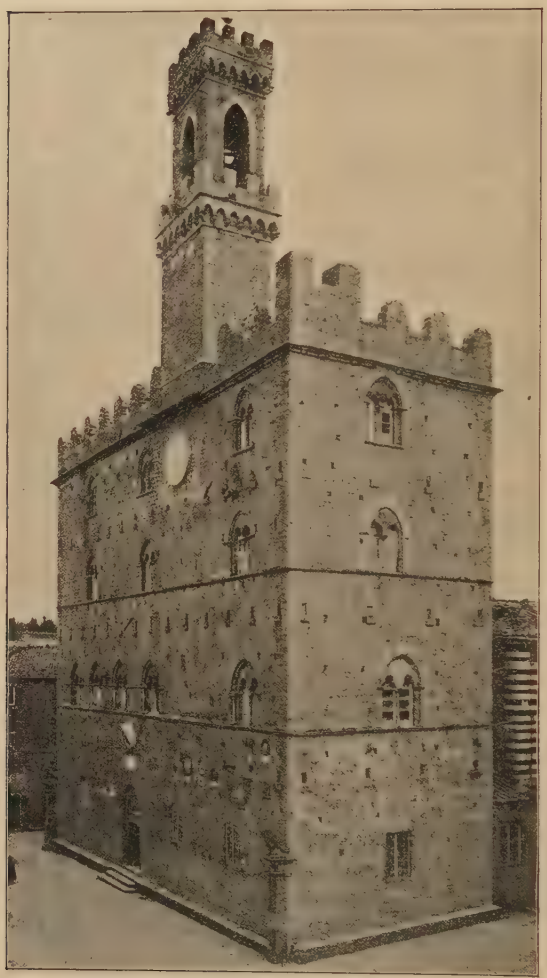

Fig. 446. Volterra. Palazzo del Priori.

Orvieto has the remains of two notable buildings, closely alike in style and age, of which one at least belongs to the class we are considering. The Palazzo Communale or Palazzo del Podestà dates from the last years of the thirteenth century, and even when fallen into

Fig. 447. Volterra. Palazzo Pretorio.

a half ruinous condition retained enough of its ancient gravity of aspect and beauty of detail to make it a most interesting monument, particularly in contrast with the brilliancy and gayety of the cathedral hard by, which is its exact contemporary. The ground story, originally open on two fronts, presents on each a line of high narrow arches, of which all but one are now filled up, flanked on either side by a square pavilion having only the height of the arcade. Above is the piano nobile, with a range of beautiful three-light windows under round bearing-arches, the openings round or slightly pointed, and divided by columns coupled in the thickness of the wall. The whole arch is enclosed within a broad unbroken border of fine diaper, with a moulded archivolt over the head of the arch. The solid tympanum is pierced by two large foliated circles, and ornamented besides with three rosettes of varied form. The second floor is reached by a broad open stone stairway from the street on the end of the building. A low third story is lighted by a row of small and plain segmental-arched single windows, and a battlemented cornice crowns all. (Fig. 443.)

At Orvieto.

The Episcopal Palace, so called, is undoubtedly of nearly the same age with the palace of the podestà. It is said to have been built under Urban IV. and his successor, whose reigns were some twenty-

five years earlier, as a residence for the popes during their visits to Orvieto. Here there are but two stories, the lower of broad round open arches resting on heavy piers, which are rather fragments of wall, above which runs a strong arched corbel-table. On this is a range of two-light windows of somewhat the same character with those of the neighboring palace, but plainer and ruder. The upper story here is of comparatively little height. The palace, like its neighbor, had fallen into complete and hopeless decay, and had been quite abandoned, but both have lately been restored, and are now objects of care and pride to the citizens of Orvieto. The Episcopal Palace of Viterbo is of the same character, and its rear façade, which looks over the valley, with its great entrance arch, its prodigious buttresses projecting from the high basement wall, and its fine range of two-light pointed windows above, has an immensely picturesque effect. (Fig. 444.)

At Volterra.

At Volterra there are two public palaces known as the Palazzo Pretorio and the Palazzo dei Priori, apparently nearly cotemporaneous, and both certainly of the thirteenth century. The former has a long frontage, with much the same variation in design which we have seen at Todi, and of a uniform height of four stories, though differently divided. The smaller and older portion has on the ground floor three high and plain open pointed arches, above which are three stories of comparatively small two-light round-arched windows under round bearing-arches with pointed extrados. In the newer portion the windows are still of two lights,

Fig. 448. Padua. Palazzo della Ragione.

but much larger, with cusped openings and pointed bearing-arches, and the wall is of rough-faced stonework like the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. (Fig. 447.) The Palazzo dei Priori is a high, narrow mass of stonework of four stories with two-light windows similar to those just noticed. The cornice is crowned with heavy battlements and a square tower rising out of the roof with smaller belfry stage. (Fig. 446.)

Fig. 449. Monza. Broletto.

At Massa Marittima, on the Mediterranean coast, the old Palazzo Communale still stands, a high rectangular building of stone crowned with battlements, with the two angles carried up slightly above the main cornice. The building has four stages, — the first of open round arches, the others with good two-light windows, with round bearing-arch and pointed extrados.

The Palazzo della Ragione of Padua, though so generally familiar, is so exceptional in character that I cannot pass it by without notice. It is of earlier date by more than a hundred years than any of the examples I have already mentioned, having been built originally in the first half of the twelfth century. The lower story was a great open market-place, with four rows of arcades of twenty-three round arches on piers. When, later, it was resolved to build a great hall above, the supporting arcades were thought insufficient as a foundation, and the three aisles were divided by intermediate rows of arches carried on columns. The hall is imposing from its size and height, and from its simplicity. The great space, about three hundred feet long and seventy-six broad,[1] is

At Padua.

[1] The measurements given by various authorities vary, as usual. I have taken those of Mothes.

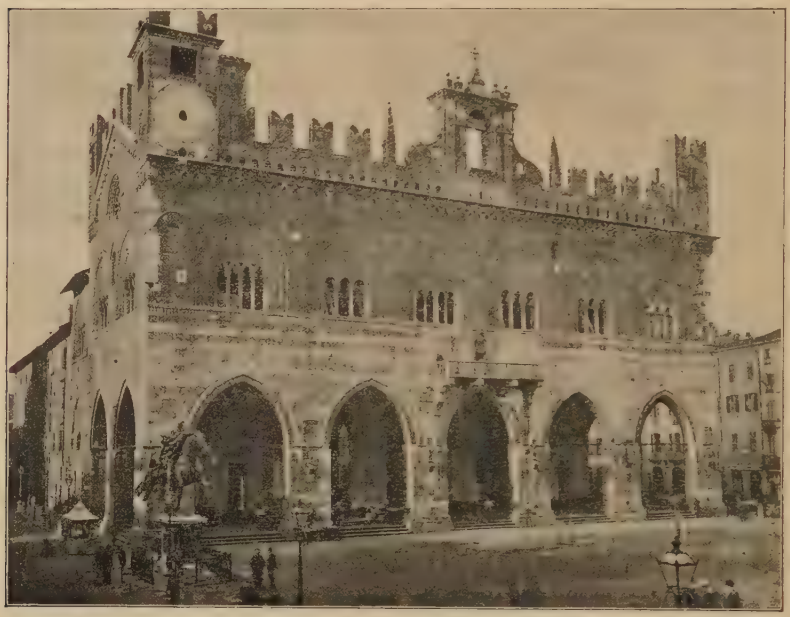

Fig. 450. Piacenza. Palazzo Pubblico.

entirely free from interior supports. Its walls of brick masonry are divided, as on the exterior, by thin pilaster strips, with two-light pointed windows in the bays, and small round windows above. The roof is a high-pointed timber arch with ribs some four feet apart, with no framed ties, but held together by two lines of iron tie-rods one above another. The exterior wall is treated much like the flank of a Lombard cathedral, with pilaster strips dividing it into panels, and ending in an arched corbel-table ; the cornice crowned with a battlement similar to that of the ducal palace of Venice, and above all the great curved hipped roof with its small dormers. To this simple structure were added, at some later date difficult to determine, two stories of enclosing arcades on each flank, of extraordinary ugliness, — the first including all forms of arches, round, segmental, and pointed, carried on small columns; the second of smaller arches nearly as irregular in form, with balustrades between the columns. (Fig. 448.)

The broletti or town-halls, which are found in many of the lesser Lombard cities, are not less characteristic than the more imposing palaces of the greater governments which we have been considering.

They are of about the same date with the communal palaces, being almost all included within the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth centuries. One of the earliest, as it is perhaps the best known of all the group, is that of Como, which dates from 1215; but those of Bergamo and Monza and Brescia are not less interesting and characteristic. In all but the last of these, the height is limited to two stories, the ground floor being open on all sides, generally for the uses of a market-place, and divided by one or more lines of arches, whether round or pointed, carried commonly on stout piers, the intervals between being covered by groined vaulting. There is nothing about these buildings to indicate a disturbed state of society; the open ground floor, the ample windows above, often filled with delicate tracery, have a charming air of prosperous and secure city life. A certain playfulness even seems to characterize some of them, as those of Bergamo and Como. In the latter, especially, this effect is to be observed from the alternating courses of parti-colored marbles, red, white, and gray, which prevail over the whole exterior, even in the octagonal piers of the arcade.

The Broletti.

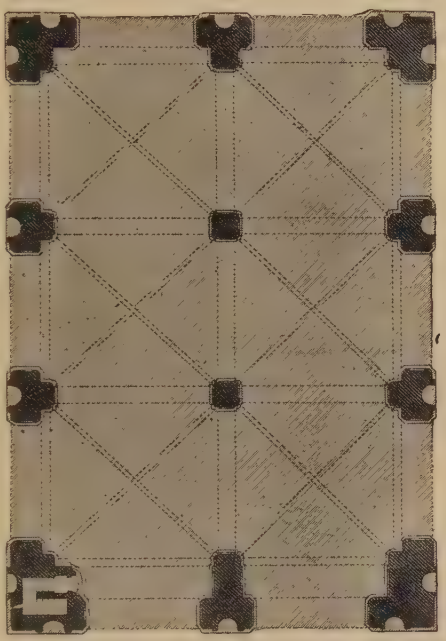

Fig. 451. Plan of Or San Michele.

At Brescia and Monza, on the contrary, the expression is rather of a severe character. In the former city, the broletto makes but a portion of an extensive and irregular mass of buildings of various ages, surrounding a large quadrangular court enclosed by vaulted arcades of which the arches are supported on very simple square piers, with no capital, but a light moulded impost. On one side the cloister thus formed is double, with a line of piers dividing it into two aisles, — a most unusual arrangement. The long west front of this building is rich in examples of beautiful detail in brick and terra-cotta.

At Brescia.

At Monza.

The broletto of Monza, believed by some authorities to be a portion of the palace built by the Emperor Frederick in 1123, is one of the smallest of the group, having a width of forty-two feet and a length of a hundred. The arcade of the lower story is of the simplest character, the square piers having neither base nor impost moulding, and the high pointed arches no edge mouldings nor archivolts, but only a band of darker brick enclosing the voussoirs, which are varied by occasional blocks of stone or marble. The ends of this building finish with low gables, from one of which rises a simple square tower with open belfry stage and forked battlements and an octagonal spire. The ringhiera in this building is set in the centre of the other gable, directly over the pier which separates the two arches of the ground floor, — an unusual position, — and is covered by a canopy supported by columns at the angles, — also an unusual feature. The two three-light windows above are similar in character to those of the Palazzo Communale at Piacenza, except for the enclosing archivolts of terra-cotta. (Fig. 449.)

Fig. 452. Angle of Or San Michele.

The ringhiera — which is, as I have before explained, the balcony from which the decrees of the government were promulgated and from which the magistrates were accustomed on occasion to address the citizens — usually occupied a position in the centre of the long front of the building; and as it was more conveniently placed on a level

with the floor of the great hall of the second or principal story, it was entered, not from one of the windows of the hall, which were commonly set rather high in the walls, but from a small and inconspicuous doorway below them. The broletto at Bergamo is an exception to this rule, the balcony being directly under the central window of the hall, which is lower than the rest and of different design, and forms part of a rather clumsy central feature, which is carried up to the cornice.

In most of these buildings a plain square tower rises from one of the angles, and gives a dignity and monumental character to the building which its small size would scarcely express.

The interior of the broletto was commonly of the simplest plan and design, — the open market-place below, the large hall above, sometimes divided, as at Monza, by a line of arches and vaulted.

At Piacenza.

The Palazzo Pubblico of Piacenza belongs really to this class of buildings, and is perhaps the largest of them, having a length of about one hundred and forty-five feet and a breadth of eighty-eight feet. The fine open arcade of the first story, with its five broad pointed arches, and the equally fine range of six somewhat irregularly disposed and dissimilar windows of the upper story, are still further contrasted by the difference in material, the lower story being of smoothly dressed stone and the upper of brick. The great windows — mostly of three lights, but one of four, while one is composed of two couples with smaller bearing-arches under the main bearing-arch — have a general resemblance to the windows of the communal palace of Orvieto, which I have described, a resemblance largely due to the broad

Fig. 453. Niche in Or S. Michele.

band which encircles the bearing-arch. The corbel-table which makes the cornice is of interlacing arches, and is crowned by very bold forked battlements, while the angles of the building are marked by square belfries. (Fig. 450.)

At Cremona.

Cremona has a large Palazzo Pubblico which has been greatly modernized, but which still shows the remains of its original architecture of the middle of the thirteenth century (an inscription in the court-yard gives the date as 1245) in the arcades of the lower floor and the tall brick tower which rises from the side wall. By its side is a much more interesting — because perfectly preserved — little building called the Palace of the Jurisconsults, which may well have been the broletto, though it has not the ringhiera which is characteristic of those buildings. It is, in that case, the smallest of its class, having but a single high-pointed arch on the end and two on the side. It has two high stories, of which the uppermost has on the side three groups of triple windows under high bearing-arches of much the same form with those below. A good moulded cornice with simple arched corbel-table, and a range of battlements above, with a close-set row of small openings which probably light a low upper story, make a vigorous termination to the building.

The Markets.

Among the various classes of civic buildings which served the needs of a gradually ameliorating civil life, hospitals and markets deserve notice. The markets were for the most part low and inconspicuous buildings without any very pronounced architectural character, even when they did not, as was so often the case, avail themselves of the spaces afforded by the open arcades of the town halls. But Florence presents a striking exception to this rule, in the building now known as Or San Michele. A parish church dedicated to St. Michael, dating from about the year 1000, and standing contiguous to a garden, whence it took the vocable of S. Michele in Orto, was taken down in 1284 to make way for a grain market in the form of an open vaulted loggia, covered by a low tower for the storage of the grain.[1] This building, which was the work of Arnolfo, then the official architect of the Commune, was destroyed in whole or in part by the great fire of 1304. A few years later, perhaps in 1317, the foundations of a new market were laid. It was the period of the greatest development of the architectural genius of Florence, and of the highest enthusiasm of her citizens in regard to the embellishment of their city. The Palazzo Vecchio was approaching completion. The works of the

Or San Michele.

[1] Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. xxvi., p. 30.

Fig. 454. Milan. From the Façade of the Ospedale Maggiore.

cathedral, interrupted by the death of Arnolfo in 1311, were about to be resumed under the direction of Giotto. Giotto's pupil and godson, Taddeo Gaddi, was made the architect of the new market. But the work seems not to have been seriously begun before 1336.[1]

The plan and disposition of the building are of the simplest description. It is a perfectly regular rectangle measuring about seventy by a hundred feet, standing free on all sides, and with three high stories, of which the lowest presents three great round arches on each side, and two on each end, the arches having a breadth of about twenty-two feet and a height of thirty-five feet. (Fig. 451.) The scale thus approaches, though still at a considerable distance, the majestic scale of the great loggia in the Piazza, and the noble simplicity of the loggia is still the note of the smaller arcades. There seems little doubt that in the beginning the lower arches were open

[1] A decree of the republic of Florence, dated September 25, 1336, is cited by Gaye, ordering the prosecution of the work on this building, in which "granum et bladum incanovatur et ponitur . . . palatium in quo veneratio gloriose Virginis Marie posset optius celebrari. et granum et bladum melius conservari, recondi et reponi . . . et in quo habitet offitialis communis flor, tam cives quam forenses pro eorum offitiis exercendis," etc. Carteggio, i. 43. Nothing is said either of Arnolfo, Orcagna, Taddeo Gaddi, or any other architect.

on all sides, and that the interior was thus an open hall, vaulted in six square bays, the interior supports consisting of two square piers in the centre of the space. At what period the second story was made a church is not certain, but probably shortly after the plague of 1348, at which time the arches of the ground floor were closed in, and made into three-light windows, with slender columns supporting the tracery which fills the heads of the arches. This work, like that of the church interior, including the magnificent but somewhat over-praised tabernacle which makes its chief feature, was carried out by Orcagna. The second and third stories of the exterior are alike, with simple two-light windows of the Florentine type, sitting on lightly moulded strings, and with imposts of the same character. The cornice is much like that of the Loggia dei Lanzi, but less in scale, and without the crowning balustrade. The expression of monumental repose and dignity, mingled with extreme elegance and perfection of detail, has rarely been more admirable than in this building.

While the work was yet unfinished, the various arts of Florence had signified their intention of decorating the piers of the lower arcade with niches and statues. They did not, however, at once carry out their design, and in 1406 were reminded of it by a decree of the council, requiring them to finish the work within ten years. The limit of time was overrun by all; but in 1428 the first statue was set in its niche, — a figure of St. John Baptist, made for the cloth-workers — *callimala* — by Lorenzo Ghiberti, who furnished also the statues of St. Matthew for the bankers and St. Lawrence for the bakers. Donatello followed with the statue of St. Mark for the flax merchants and St. George for the physicians and apothecaries, — the last-mentioned one of the finest works of Donatello, — and Andrea Verocchio with St. Thomas for the Tribunal of the Mercanzia. So the work of adornment went on — a noble example of public spirit, and of popular appreciation and love of art. It was the middle of the sixteenth century before all the niches were filled. They vary greatly in design, and are necessarily of unequal merit. (Fig. 452.) But the best of them are remarkable examples of profuse and minute yet restrained decoration. The niche, for example, which encloses the statue of St. Mark, has a many-cusped arch with an ogee gable and flanking pinnacles. In the gable is a half-length figure in relief, with two small heads enclosed in foliage. The small twisted shafts at the sides of the niche have a series of detached flowers in the spirals, the columns and pilasters have foliated capitals, the wall of

the niche is panelled with a black and white marble inlay, and the panel of the pedestal has a similar inlay, with the figure of a winged lion in high relief in the centre. (Fig. 453.)

The hospitals of Italy go back, as I have said, to the early days of the Lombard occupation, perhaps to an even earlier period. And there was never a time since their foundation when these institutions of mercy have been wanting, even in the midst of the most savage and desolating warfare. But during the dark ages the hospitals, like the schools, were under the charge of the monasteries, and were indeed to be regarded as accessories of these institutions. With the advance of civilization, hospitals began to be not only founded but maintained by the secular powers. Most of these are later than the buildings we have been considering, dating

The Hospitals.

Fig. 455. Perugia. Court of Ospedale Militare.

mostly from the fifteenth century, — as the Pammatone at Genoa, founded in 1420, now greatly enlarged and modernized, the Ospedale Grande at Milan, 1457, the Ospedale di Ridolfo Tanzi at Parma, 1487, etc. Of these the most familiar is the great hospital at Milan, a building of enormous extent, founded by Duke Francesco Sforza and his wife, but of which the greater part belongs

At Milan.

to a later date. The architect was Antonio Filarete, of Florence. The portion originally built consists of a single wing covering a square of about three hundred and forty feet, scarcely more than a third of the building which we see to-day; the other wing, with the great central court which connects the two, was the work of Ricchini in the early part of the seventeenth century. The entire building has a frontage of nearly nine hundred feet, of which the portion standing in front of the central court is all that can be connected with the design of Filarete. This has a length of about two hundred and fifty feet, and is a remarkable example of terra-cotta decoration, but can scarcely be said to have any other merit. It has two stories of clumsy two-light pointed windows, the lower occupying the intervals of a vigorous arcade of round arches on stout three-quarter columns with foliated capitals, — the upper enclosed in square panels. The pointed bearing-arches are surrounded by broad quadruple bands of ornament, which have neither the vigor of the outworn Lombard sculpture nor the grace of the coming Renaissance. The archivolts of the arcade and the broad frieze which separates the stories are scarcely better. Roundels in the heads of the bearing-arches and in the spandrils contain busts in high relief, which are of a distinctly superior character.

Fig. 456. Florence. The Bigallo.

The Ospedale Militare at Perugia occupies what seems a thirteenth century palace, of which the most interesting feature is a fine court with two stories of open galleries, the lower with broad pointed arches of excellent brickwork on low octagonal piers

At Perugia.

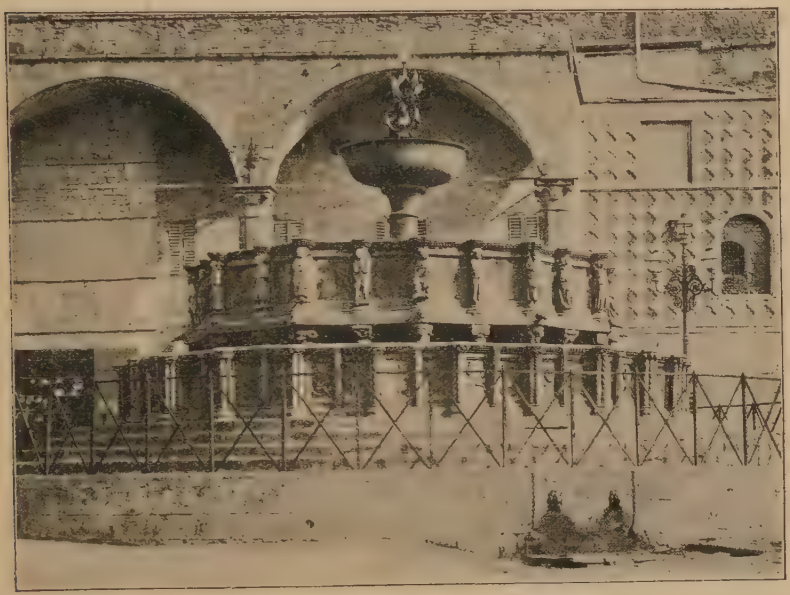

Fig. 457. Perugia. Fonte Maggiore.

banded with light and dark stone; the upper with bearing-arches of similar form and size enclosing three pointed lights separated by coupled columns of marble.

The delightful little loggia which stands opposite the Duomo of Florence, and which is known as the Bigallo, forms a portion of an uncompleted building used in connection with the Hospital of the Misericordia, on the opposite side of the street, founded in 1240 by what is perhaps the oldest and most famous organization for charitable work in existence. The design of the loggia is attributed to Orcagna, and its sculpture to Nicolo Pisano. The building, if completed, — with a fine range of two-light pointed and cusped windows covered by a bearing-arch, above the highly decorated open arcade of the ground story, of which the present loggia forms only the end bay, — would have been one of the most beautiful in Florence.

The Bigallo.

The Fountains.

One more class of architectural works must be mentioned which have not commonly been included under that comprehensive head, but which in Italy assumed during the Middle Ages an importance and a monumental character entitling them to be classed among the purest works of architectural art. I mean the public fountains. No country in the world can rival Italy in these beautiful structures, which, in mediæval times, far from being as now merely works of municipal adornment, were the centres of the common daily life of the people and inseparably interwoven with the simple and neighborly intercourse of humble and laborious townsfolk. Modern civilization has for the most part abolished the ancient ways of life. Scarcely elsewhere than in Switzerland and Italy do we still find in every village the ever-flowing stream in the midst of the square, with its cheerful music by day and night, and the assemblage of villagers around its basin. In Germany and France the fountains were often more or less ambitious, and a few of them still remain. The lovely Schönbrunnen at Nuremberg will at once occur to the reader. Between this and the typical Italian fountain there is all the difference between the Gothic and the Classic architecture — between the North and the South. The one is slender and aspiring, with stage above stage of gradually diminishing arcades, with gables and pinnacles, and a tapering spire. The other is broad, low, and spreading, of fair and precious materials, but of simplest construction, and decorated with the most delicate and refined Italian sculpture.

The fountain which represents in its highest charm this characteristic devotion of the fine Italian genius to the needs of common life is that which stands in the great square of Perugia — the Fonte Maggiore. (Fig. 457.) It was begun in 1277 as a portion of the

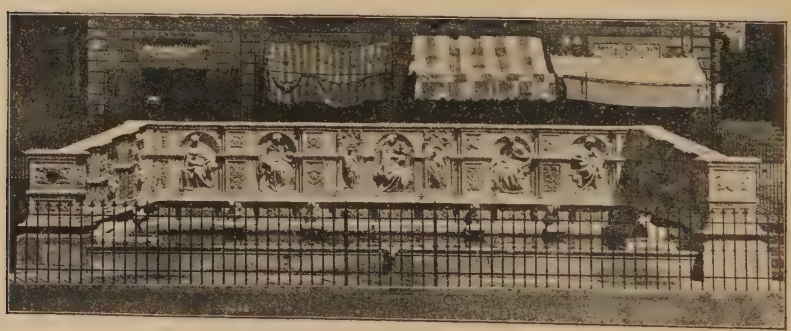

Fig. 458. Siena. Fonte Gaia.

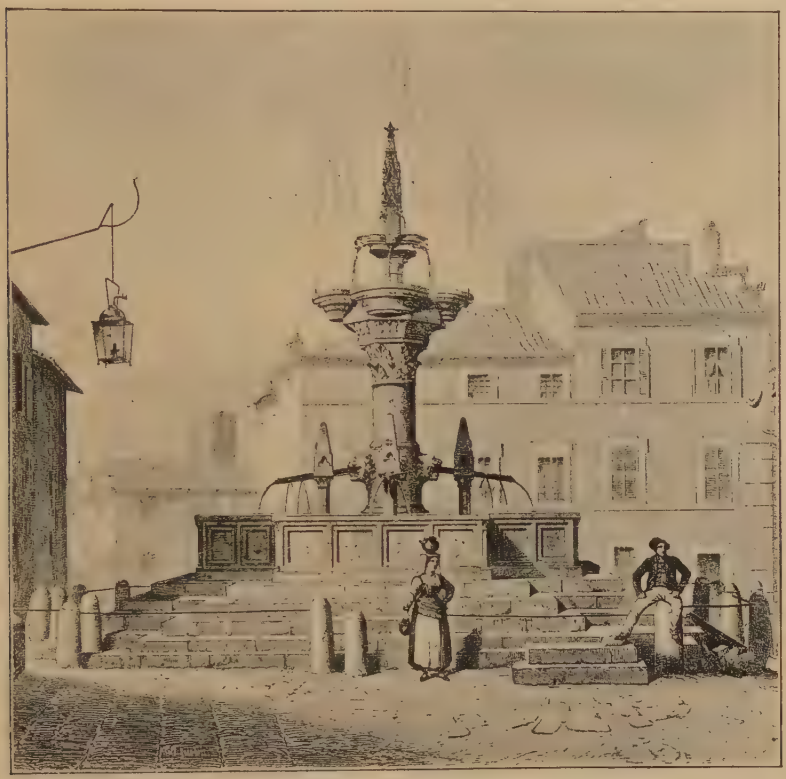

Fig. 459. Viterbo. Fonte Gatteschi.

scheme for introducing fresh water into the city from the neighboring hills. It needs no detailed description, — its simplicity of plan and disposition, its grand scale, and the extreme beauty of its sculptured ornament have made it renowned throughout the world. The work was under the patronage of the Pope, Nicholas III., who gave the charge of it to Nicolo Pisano, as is recorded in the inscription which surrounds the bronze tazza. Nicolo is believed to have died not long after 1280, and his son Giovanni continued the work. The diameter of the lower of the two basins — a polygon of twenty-four sides — is about thirty feet. The angles are marked by groups of twisted colonnettes, and its faces, which have a slight inward curve, are divided each into two panels, filled with reliefs by Nicolo and Giovanni and their pupils. The subjects are very various, embracing the months of the year, the signs of the Zodiac, emblematic figures of the arts and sciences,

At Perugia.

and many others. The upper and smaller basin stands on stout columns which rise out of the water of the lower. Its faces are plain, but at each angle stands a nearly detached statue, over whose head the light cornice of the basin is broken in an octagonal projection. The upper tazza and the column which sustains it are of bronze, and a group of three water-nymphs rise from its centre. Nothing can exceed the noble reserve with which the decoration is treated throughout, and the expression of repose, elegance, and simplicity is perfect.

At Siena.

A fountain of very similar character is that in the great square at Siena opposite the Palazzo Pubblico, known as the Fonte Gaia. It is a half century later in date than the Perugia fountain, having been built in 1343 or thereabouts. It consists of a rectangular basin about thirty-five feet long, enclosed on three sides by a very elegant low wall with a series of broad niches filled with sitting statues of great beauty, the piers between and also the continuous base on which they rest being panelled and decorated with reliefs. This beautiful work, having fallen into decay, was completely rebuilt in 1869, when the sculptures, the work of Jacopo della Quercia in 1412–19, were removed to the Opera del Duomo, and replaced by copies.

Fig. 460. Siena. Fonte Ovile.

At Viterbo.

Viterbo has, perhaps, in proportion to her size, preserved more of these interesting monuments than any other Italian town. Of the three principal fountains, all are worthy of study, but that which is called by the name of the Gatteschi, and which stands in the market-place, is the most unusual. (Fig. 459.) In the middle of a basin formed by a high panelled parapet, and which has the plan of a Greek cross about twenty feet broad, raised on a

platform approached by five steps of similar plan, rises a low massive column, girdled at mid-height by a row of four lions' heads, from whose mouths issue metal conductors leading the water to points near the parapet. The large foliated capital of the column has a broad spreading abacus, on which rests a smaller basin in the form of a quatrefoil with a smaller column rising out of it supporting a similar basin, and from this again rises a square spire, or rather, pinnacle. The whole height is about thirty feet.

A class of fountains peculiar to Italy — which might be called cisterns or small reservoirs rather than fountains — deserve to be mentioned, since they have often a distinctly architectural character. They have commonly the form of a vaulted loggia of two or three bays, open on one side, sometimes on three, and enclosing low basins supplied by pipes. Siena has several interesting examples — the Fonte Branda, Fonte Nuova, Fonte Ovile, all dating from the thirteenth century. The first named has three square bays, open only on the front, with three pointed arches springing from square brick piers, and covered by higher blind arcades of similar form, the wall finishing with a strong corbel-table and square battlements. In the Fonte Nuova there are but two bays with a basin in each, of slightly different levels, the upper used for filling vessels for domestic use,

Fig. 461. S. Gimignano. Fountains outside the Town Gate.

and discharging its overflow into the lower, which is for the washing of clothes and the watering of animals.

San Gimignano and Todi, in the Umbrian region, have some characteristic fountains of this class. In San Gimignano they are placed at the foot of an abrupt hill; one of them, just outside the Porta

Fig. 462. Todi. Fonte Cornabecchi.

Omonima, has a long series of arches, curved in plan, running around the rocky cliff. (Fig. 461.) The arches are of widely different sizes and forms, and doubtless of different periods; some are high and pointed, some round. The two long basins behind them are of different levels, and separated by two open arches.

The arcades of the Fonte Cornabecchi at Todi (Fig. 462), though of round arches, and slenderer in construction than those just mentioned, have much the same character, which is, I believe, confined chiefly to the towns of this region.

The Renaissance.

In much of the work we have been considering in the present chapter, we are treading close upon the Renaissance, of which the breath was felt at a much earlier period than is commonly apprehended, and which by the end of the fourteenth century was rapidly occupying the whole field of letters and art throughout Northern and Central Italy. In many respects the gain was evident — in systematic development, in the expression of festive

grandeur, personal and municipal, in that splendor of scale in which no other people, since the days of classic Rome, has ever approached the Italians. Yet something is to be said on the other side: of the loss of freedom, picturesqueness, variety, and that indefinable but resistless charm which belongs to the associations of mediæval life and tradition and history, — to the visible efforts of a rude people, often in the midst of the turmoil of war and the struggle for existence, to express in worthy form the higher capacities of their nature. During the greater part of the centuries which our examination has embraced, letters were asleep, and were held back from death, as I have said before, only by the devotion of the cloistered students in the monasteries. Sculpture and painting were but the handmaids of architecture, and architecture was the servant of the church. But after the revival of the fifteenth century architecture was only one of many forms in which the awakened passion for intellectual and artistic beauty found expression. Mr. Symonds has said that the main point to be observed in the history of the Renaissance is the emancipation of all the arts from ecclesiastical control. In the field of architecture we may add another, — namely, the controlling influence of great personalities. Arnolfo, Nicolo Pisano, Giotto, Orcagna, were the advance guard of a brilliant succession of illustrious builders, who held up the torch of architecture for two hundred years for the enlightenment of a world, which, with all its wealth and training, has never since approached the scale of their achievements.

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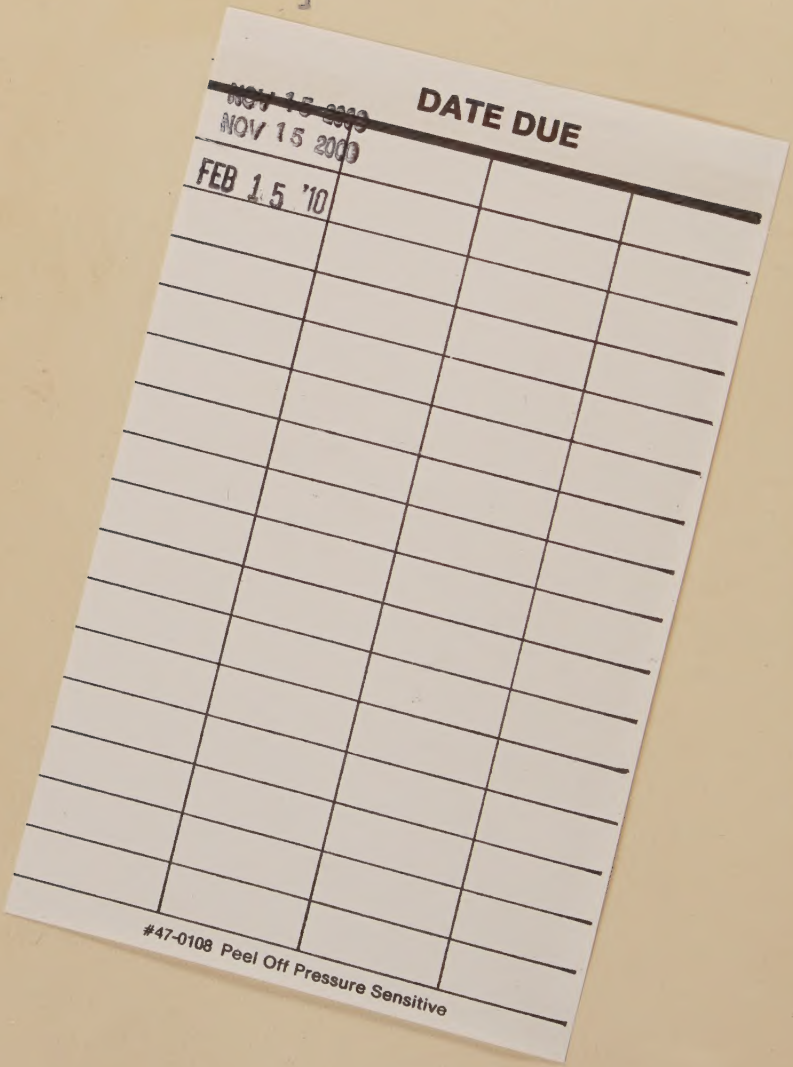
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